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Belgium's Claes Visits, Meets Officials

Serreqi, Claes View Cooperation

AU2403171294 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Willy Claes, Belgian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, has arrived in Tirana for an official visit. The official talks started at the Foreign Ministry with Minister Serreqi. At 1200 Claes was received in a special meeting by President Berisha. The Belgian delegation will continue its meetings in the following hours with Prime Minister Meksi, Minister Zhulali, and Bank Governor General Vrioni. Our correspondent reports on the talks held at the Foreign Ministry:

[Koleci] Willy Claes, Belgian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Tirana today for a one-day visit. He was received at Rinas airport by Albanian Foreign Minister Serreqi.

The chief of Belgian diplomacy told the reporters that the aim of his visit is the establishment of a continuous political dialogue for the interests of both countries. As topics in the Albanian-Belgian talks he considered bilateral cooperation as well as the situation in our region.

After arriving at the Foreign Ministry, the two delegations led by Serreqi and Claes started talks. Regarding bilateral cooperation, the talks focused on the possibilities of institutionalizing the consultations between the two respective Foreign Ministries. Regarding economics, the Albanian side paid attention to starting cooperation in the mining, energy, tourism, agriculture, and textile industries. Minister Serreqi presented the desire that Belgian investors be present in Albania, assuring the necessary judicial cadre. They also expressed opinions on cooperation in the fields of defense and public order.

Another topic in the talks between the Belgian and Albanian delegations was the situation in the region. The main protagonists at the meeting supported the U.S. initiative to create a Croat-Bosnian federation and Claes stressed the need to find proper ways to do so. For this, he continued, it is necessary for the Serbian side to contribute as well.

The Belgian foreign minister considered the problem of Kosova as part of the general Yugoslav crisis and tied the abolishment of sanctions to the solution of all aspects of the crisis, including Kosova.

Our foreign minister was of the opinion that Kosova should not be treated as a part of Serbia.

Talks With Berisha Reported

AU2403213794 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] President Berisha today received Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes. I am happy to receive you in Albania, President Berisha told Willy Claes. I am sure that your visit marks an important event in strengthening bilateral relations. I would like to mention here the fruitful meetings I held in Brussels with His Majesty King Albert I and Belgian Prime Minister Dehaene, and the understanding I found in them regarding the problems of bilateral relations and those of our region.

President Berisha made a broad presentation of the application and course of the reforms in the political, institutional, and economic fields, as well as the latest achievements in this direction. We are grateful to the European Union [EU] and Belgium for the assistance they rendered to Albania. However, Albania still needs assistance and increased cooperation with Belgium and European Union. He asked Belgian Foreign Minister Claes for the Belgian Kingdom to support the processes of Albania's integration into the European Union.

Regarding the situation in the region, Berisha stressed once again that, with its actions and attitudes, Albania is seriously working to achieve stability in the region. He said, however, that lifting or facilitating sanctions against Serbia not only does not stop the war but moves it toward the south, where it threatens to turn into a Balkan conflict. In this framework, it comes out clearly that the problem of Kosova remains a regional problem, the solution of which is a condition for regional peace and stability. That is why this question must be placed on the agenda. The European Union should consider the efforts of Albanians for a democratic solution.

Regarding Kosova as a Serb problem means ignoring 2 million Albanians and increasing the chances of conflict. We ask that it is necessary to be understood that Greater Serbia is a factor of war and instability in the region. I am of the opinion that the situation in Kosova is continuously becoming worse. By closing the last institutions of culture in conformity with the memorandum of the Serbian Academy, Milosevic is escalating the terror there.

Berisha continued by saying that, in the same way, Albania is interested in stability in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. However, there are others who try to destabilize the situation in this Republic and find and create destabilizing factors there where they do not exist. But of course, it supports and defends the human and national rights of the Albanians in this Republic because this is the only way to achieve stability there.

Claes said that we feel it is our duty to help and support you in the difficult road of reforms. We appraise your achievements and guarantee you that Belgium will support Albania's efforts to be integrated into the European Union, the West European Union, and all European structures. He also expressed complete understanding for the problems in the region and assessed Albania's stance as a factor and stability. He assured President Berisha that Belgium will give a concrete contribution in the resolution of the question of Kosova.

Meets With Meksi, Other Officials

AU2503091294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] In a reception today hosted for Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes, Defense Minister Safet Zhulali described Albania's democratic developments and the reformation of the army according to the most advanced standards of its integration into democratic society, stressing that Albania was the first to request NATO membership and aspires to it. Albania is cooperating with NATO and fully supports it, offering air and port facilities. Albania also supported its ultimatum and signed the Partnership for Peace agreement, participating as a serious and active partner.

Zhulali stressed the need for signing a bilateral agreement, which was welcomed by the Belgian foreign minister. In this framework, Zhulali said that the Albanian Army can be further supported by NATO member countries and Belgium in the field of education, training and preparation, material assistance, etc.

After assessing the economic and political progress in Albania, Belgian Foreign Minister Claes assured Zhulali that all West European institutions are ready to support the democratic process in Albania. Conveying greetings for Albania's participation in the Partnership for Peace agreement and cooperation with the Western European Union, Claes expressed a readiness for bilateral relations, stressing the possibility of direct contacts between the defense ministers.

Focusing on regional problems, both welcomed the progress achieved in the peace process, confirming that there cannot be a solution to the problems in the former Yugoslavia without resolving the Kosova problem.

We are interested in developing bilateral relations in all fields with reciprocal interest, Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi said to Claes at the beginning of the meeting. Albania wants to be integrated into Europe, not as a burden but by progressing forward with your assistance. That is why we are open to Belgian investments, especially in infrastructure and communication. At the same time, Belgium can support Albania economically and politically, even in the framework of the European Union [EU] by assisting with an associate agreement.

Belgium is willing to cooperate on a multilateral basis, Claes said. I think that lifting the double taxation and protection of investments will be a good step in this direction. I would simultaneously insist to Mr. Delors to undertake concrete initiatives to sign an associate agreement with the European Union. Claes expressed his support for other initiatives in the fields of education and science.

In his meeting with Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes, National Bank Governor Dylber Vrioni expressed a desire to cooperate in the financial field as well and negotiate the debt that Albania owes to Belgium.

Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes also held a meeting with members of the parliamentary Foreign Policy Commission. They mainly discussed Balkan issues and the opportunities for cooperation between our two parliaments.

Before his departure Claes and Serreqi gave a news conference in which both personalities assessed the bilateral talks and their results. The two officials also answered correspondents' questions, which focused on Belgian and Albanian attitudes toward a solution to the Kosova question in the framework of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Group Protests Arrest of Kosovar Publicist

AU2403190894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] The Albanian Helsinki Committee [KShH] raises its voice of protest over the arrest by Serbian police of Kosovar publicist and writer Shuaip Beqiri, who is also editor-in-chief of the weekly independent FORUMI, which is published in Prishtina.

The KShH appeals to international institutions to seriously assess the dangerous escalation of violence in Kosova, as this escalation foreshadows new tragedies that can happen in the Balkans and the wider region.

Videnov Comments After Meeting U.S. Officials

AU2403144394 Sofia NOVINI 5 in Bulgarian 19 Mar 94 pp 1, 3

[Magdalina Andonova report: "Zhan Videnov Met Montgomery, Filip Dimitrov—Avdeyev"]

[Text] On 18 March Zhan Videnov, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], met Richard Schiffer from the U.S. National Security Council [NSC], Charles Donas, executive director of the State Department Group for Central and Eastern Europe, William Montgomery, U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria, and Helen Walls from the Treasury Department. According to Videnov, the participants in the meeting discussed the basic problems of our country in the socioeconomic sphere, international financial relations, and foreign policy in the Balkans, as well as our country's Euroatlantic orientation, an issue on which, according to Zhan Videnov, a national consensus exists in Bulgaria.

The BSP leader said the following to NOVINI 5 and Khorizont Radio reporters:

"We think that the United States has precise information regarding the situation of the Balkan states today. They may underestimate a little the grave economic and social difficulties that countries like Bulgaria, which are in a process of transition, are encountering. They see the processes as much more controllable and prone to subjective political will than they really are. The U.S. guests will generate contradicting impressions from their meetings with the various political forces. However, I think that the BSP has responded more adequately to their interest by revealing its ideas about the country's socioeconomic development in the next few years."

Aleksandr Avdeyev, Russian ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a dinner in honor of Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. It was a friendly dinner, Mr. Leonid Reshetnikov, press attache at the Russian Embassy told the BALKAN NEWS AGENCY. Mr. Dimitrov and Mr. Avdeyev exchanged information regarding the situation in Russia and Bulgaria. Both noted the necessity of developing relations between the two countries in all possible directions, something that corresponds to the national interests of Bulgaria and Romania.

Filip Dimitrov heard with great interest Russia's position on the situation in the Balkans, and more specifically on the Yugoconflict. He and Mr. Avdeyev discussed the necessity of reviving diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Russia.

The dinner at the embassy, which lasted two hours, included only vegetable dishes, because both Mr. Dimitrov and Mr. Avdeyev were observing Lent.

Commission To Review Nuclear Accident Report

AU2403154894 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 21 Mar 94 p 4

[STANDART NEWS staff report: "Experts Suspect Deliberate Accidents at Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] At the insistence of National Assembly Deputy Vasil Mikhaylov, the parliamentary National Security Commission is going to consider the report of experts who investigated the circumstances, reasons, and consequences of the accident in Generating Units Nos. 5 and 6 of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant on 22-23 September 1992.

The accident occurred when a risky experiment was in progress in the No. 6 Unit, namely reducing the loading of turbogenerator No. 10 down from 100 percent to zero. At the very start of the experiment, a short circuit occurred that shut down the standby electrical supply to Units Nos. 5 and 6. Only by switching on standby diesel generators was it possible to prevent the reactor from becoming a bomb. Important control and monitoring apparatus remained without any electric power supply, so that between 1415 and 1600, no information or recordings were available on the actions carried out. The Soviet specialists in charge of the experiment refuse to provide any explanation.

The experts established that no program existed for the experiment or for dealing with any possible incidents that might occur. The Central Control Department has no documentation either because the tape recorder that serves as a "black box" in the event of accidents is started manually, and on the day in question, no one thought of switching it on.

The failure in the No. 6 Unit put the radiation safety monitoring panel out of action. The workers connected all the instruments to the standby diesel generators. However, no one noted this either in the report compiled by the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, nor in the one made by the National Electricity Company commission, nor in the report of the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy because it contravened the nuclear safety regulations and considerably increased the risk arising from the fault. The chiefs of the nuclear plant decided to disconnect the preventative systems of the No. 5 Unit and reconnect it to its normal power supply because the standby power supply system, fed from diesel generators, was unreliable. However, on the very next day, "someone" countermanded this order. A further short circuit occurred, which, according to the experts, lasted for more than a minute. A fire broke out that burned for over two hours. As a result of all this, until 12 December 1992, we had to import from Ukraine additional electric power costing about 600 million leva.

General Denies Command To Be Disbanded

AU2403142694 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 Mar 94 pp 9,10

[Interview with Lieutenant General Tsvetan Totomirov, commander in chief of the Bulgarian Ground Forces, by Vasil Lyutskanov; date not given: "We Were Not Created by Foreign Commission, the 'Soviet Connection' Has Never Interfered With Us"]

[Text] [Lyutskanov] General Totomirov, how would you comment on the allegations in connection with the alleged elimination of the Ground Forces command [KSV]. Do you know anything about the source of the rumors, and how do you rate the arguments "for" and "against" such alleged intentions?

[Totomirov] Personally, I am convinced that the question is being artificially fanned by the press and is based on various sources. If we accept such rumors as true, they apply in particular to the Ground Forces [SV] personnel. Reflecting on this aspect of the question I can only assume that such ill-intentioned, conspiratorial rumors, conceived "in the dark," serve certain poorly concocted plans that reflect a total lack of patriotic feelings. My conviction is based on the recent meeting between the KSV and members of the parliamentary National Security Commission.

At the meeting the commission chairman Mr. Slatinski, himself, and the representatives of the Defense Ministry and Army General Staff confirmed that eliminating the KSV was not on the agenda for the time being. The allegation that the KSV was created by "foreign commission," that is, on the initiative of the Warsaw Pact, also appears outdated. It was clear that such command staffs were established long before us in NATO member-states such as Greece, France, the UK, Italy, and other countries. The most convincing evidence of the absence of a "Soviet connection" in the creation of the KSV within the Bulgarian Army is the establishment of an analogous command staff in the Romanian Army following the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact, rather than during the time it still existed. Thus, I do not believe rumors and allegations, but prefer to trust authoritative institutions. In other words, no arguments "for" and "against" disbanding the KSV exist at all. I would rather say that we are confronted with a poorly concocted "fiction" based on specific, biased intentions.

[Lyutskanov] Are you expecting any dismissals among the officers and sergeants in the Ground Forces?

[Totomirov] There are constant rumors about imminent dismissals. Not only do they have a negative impact on the self- confidence and enthusiasm of our officers and sergeants, but are a cause of concern for military personnel, for all employees and workers in the military institutions. An officer who has devoted his entire life to the military does not deserve to be confronted with such uncertainty about his future. It is very easy to dismiss officers and sergeants; it is much more difficult to train military cadres. While the first thing, dismissal, is a unilateral act and can be done at a stroke, the second is a very difficult and lengthy process. The Ground Forces are currently suffering from a lack of the necessary officers' corps. Unlike in previous years, however, the lack of well-trained officers not only affects the command staffs, but also the sub-units. Compared with the past, 20 percent of the officers' posts are unoccupied in the KSV today. The reformed Bulgarian Army needs well trained and experienced cadres. Hence, before dismissing cadres, we should know who will replace them.

[Lyutskanov] What kind of resources in terms of money and officers are required for the redeployment of the SV in accordance with the new military doctrine?

[Totomirov] The SV reform is a complicated and lengthy process involving the following tasks: redeployment of certain units and groups of units, transition to brigade organization and adjusting the combat staff to the established quotas, rearmament with effective and updated armaments and equipment, improvement in the professional training of military cadres and personnel, transition to a system of mixed equipment [komplektuvane] of the troops, and so forth. These tasks require the implementation of a series of measures, but they also call for time and money. So if I mention an amount needed for the redeployment of the SV, it would hardly be accurate. Before redeploying the sub-units, we must build, repair, or adapt the barracks and living quarters for army personnel to the existing infrastructure. We need to provide parking space and storage, and premises and facilities so training can be carried out inside and outside the barracks. In 1993 only 17 million leva out of the 160 million needed were granted for the planned major repairs of storage areas and parking facilities. A total of 2,049 officers in Plovdiv, Sliven, Stara Zagora, Blagoevgrad, and Shumen have no quarters. Considerably fewer motor vehicles than necessary are provided for our units and groups of units today, which means that the number of firing exercises and the amount of tactical training has to be reduced. We are trying to promote certain measures that do not cost much money. As far as the officers' corps of the Ground Forces is concerned, it is well trained and ready to implement the reform. It is now necessary to fulfill the remaining conditions for the reform.

Libyan Peace Mission Holds Meeting in Sofia

LD2403144794 Tripoli JANA in English 1428 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Sofia, al Rabia'a [Mar] 24, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—The delegation of preachers, sermonisers and teachers of Islam, the Qur'an, and the Arabic language who are on the way to Belgrade to conciliate between the warring factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina met yesterday in Sofia with Ahmed Dogan, the president of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms which represents Muslims in the Republic of Bulgaria. The movement is one of the most leading political forces in Bulgaria.

During this meeting, the two sides examined relations between the Great Jamahiriyah and Bulgaria, ways to improve these relations and the current situation in the Balkans.

During this meeting, Ahmed Dogan payed tribute to the inititiave and efforts undertaken by the leader of the revolution in order to seek a peaceful and just solution to the conflict underway in the region known formerly as Yugoslavia as well as the leader's concern for the conditions of Muslims throughout the world and the assistance the can offer.

The president of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms in Bulgaria then commended the tireless efforts of the Great Jamahiriyah in order to restore security and stability to the region through conciliation and ending the fighting between the warring factions in bosnia hercegovina with the initiative which it is carrying out. He said the initiative demonstrates the Great Jamahiriyah's desire to ensure that peace and security prevails throughout the world. The president of the Movement for Freedom and Rights reaffirmed the solidarity of the Islamic movement in Bulgaria with the Great Jamahiriyah in resisting the unjust harsh measures imposed on it by [words indistinct] the baseless resolution imposed by the western countries through the so-called Security Council. The president applauded the enlightened attitude and wise policy adopted by the Great Jamahiriyah in dealing with this crisis.

The delegation of sermonisers and preachers also met in Sofia yesterday with Zhan Videnov, the president of the Bulgarian Socialist Party who expressed his pleasure with the initiative of the Great Jamahiriyah to conciliate between the warring factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and bring an end to the fighting between them.

He said that this was proof of the stance of the Great Jamahiriyah aimed at achieving pece and security in the Balkans despite the unjust harsh measures imposed on it.

Attending these meetings were Dr. 'Ali Turayki, the envoy of the General Peoples Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation entrusted with following up the initiative proposed by the leader of the revolution to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict underway in the former Yugoslavia.

SDS Daily Urges Resignation of Berov Cabinet

AU2403154694 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 18 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by Yonko Kalpazanov: "Is It a Question of Personal Choice?"]

[Text] We are once again confronted with a case of coinciding views between the New Alliance for Democracy [NSD] and the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. Their leaders have assumed similar stands in connection with Professor Berov's illness and the ensuing results for the government. They claim that it is a question of the prime minister's personal decision whether he wishes to remain in his post or resign, whether he should choose between his health and a political career. According to the aforementioned leaders, it is the same whether the prime minister should go to Brussels for a week or whether he should go for treatment to the government officials' clinic at the Military Hospital.

The unanimity is not surprising; it only confirms the prevailing conviction that the NSD is an offspring of the BSP. The only reason for surprise is the lightheartedness with which both political organizations are treating issues of crucial importance for our country.

After one week abroad, Mr. Berov is supposed to resume the prime minister's seat and continue chairing the government (although with rather doubtful chances of success, as a matter of fact) and to bear the responsibility for the country, according to Article 108, paragraph 2, of the Constitution. After several weeks in the hospital, the prime minister is expected to undergo a few months of rehabilitation treatment in a special clinic or at home. Throughout all this time, he is neither subjectively nor objectively in a position to bear the responsibility for the government. This would be the time of missing responsibility, which is so convenient for the destructive intentions of Balkan and Bulgarian communism and its satellites.

It is naive to believe and cynical to claim that an individual who has suffered a severe heart attack, who has undergone surgery including four bypasses, and who is 70 years old could once more assume the fully fledged leadership of the state, especially considering his "achievements" at a time when he was in good health.

Good intentions and personal ambitions should give in to the laws of human physiology. The commentaries about Prof. Berov's illness are frequently lacking in objectivity, under the influence of emotions.

We are all mortal. It is an understandable human reaction to feel sympathy for those who are suffering from ill health. Nevertheless, when Bulgaria's vital interests are at stake, truth should prevail over courtesy. We should have the courage to tell the truth in a spirit of tolerance and to bear it with stoicism.

For objective medical reasons, Prof. Berov is no longer in a position to preside over the Bulgarian Government, especially considering the difficult period that our country is going through. An incapacitated prime minister with two deputy prime ministers, who are notorious offsprings of "mature socialism" in command, means to further accelerate the pace of recommunization, which is already under way in our country, to an unprecedented extent. Prof. Berov's remaining in his post, and even a delay of his resignation, would be detrimental to his health and a disaster for Bulgaria.

The prime minister's resignation, and hence the resignation of his cabinet, is not a matter of personal choice but an absolute necessity for the preservation of our national interests. Let us hope that Prof. Berov, whom, as I am convinced, we all wish a prompt recovery, will come to a decision that should be worthy of himself and would make things easier for Bulgaria.

Army Involvement in Bacteria Affair Questioned

AU2403181194 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 23 Mar 94 p 3

[Commentary by Jan Benes: "About Deputy Minister Kalousek's 'Expedient Lie'"]

[Text] In the course of an extraordinary news conference called by the defense minister to calm down the public, Deputy Defense Minister Kalousek described the CESKY DENIK information about contributing to Klinlab equipment with Army supplies as an expedient lie. The deputy minister is apparently well-versed in the field so he knew what he was talking about. What he said was an expedient untruth.

This time around, we will not devote our attention to the problem of biological warfare agents (because, at this time, the explanation of the difference between offensive and defensive cholera is beyond our ability).

We will leave that for some other time, including the military laboratories in Olesnice, as well as the equipment for the reproduction of viruses, with which the Techonin Research Institute was equipped, despite the claims made by the Defense Ministry officials calming down the public. After all, it was from here that the Bulgarian, Romanian, GDR, and Russian experts, who used to work here, withdrew their research and documentation.

So, that is one group of expedient untruths. Let us, however, devote ourselves to the Klinlab Co., a company that operates in the building of the Military Hospital in [Prague-]Stresovice. It was precisely in the facility leased to Klinlab that the bank of "completely common viruses" was located that was destroyed on Defense Minister Baudys's order under extraordinary security measures.

First, already in 1992, expensive foreign-made equipment was bought for the Central Military Health Institution—a laboratory glass washer, for instance, and an automatic analyzer—just to guarantee a good future for the Central Military Hospital [UVN]. The purchases were made by the deputy chief of the Central Military Health Institution (UVZU), Dr. Moravek. The justification was that UVZU would produce and market hygienically pure water for commercial purposes. Shortly thereafter, however, a questionnaire was circulated among the employees of this institution recruiting "experts" for the future private laboratory institute called Klinlab. The questionnaire was then used to justify (the people want it) the establishment of Klinlab. This company assumed, however, only the profit-making or profit-promising part of UVZU. Under the auspices of Economics Deputy Minister Kalousek, the company was authorized to manage the six-floor facility in UVN by a contract dated 10 September 1993 and signed with the Army for Klinlab by no one else but Dr. Moravek, still an officer on active duty. He signed as the executive secretary of a company that had not yet been founded, much less registered.

This violates a good number of laws and regulations, including the defense minister's order No. 9 of 11 February 1993.

Only a month after the signing of the lease (which leaves the owner with the obligations of the owner, including construction alterations), on 11 October 1993, the Klinlab company contract was signed, and only on 23 October 1993 is Klinlab entered on the company register.

In a state governed by rule of law, the contract would certainly be invalid. In a state governed by rule of law, the people signing such contracts would be considered cheats. Furthermore, Dr. Moravek and all of the other officers from Klinlab Ltd. who signed the contract brazenly violated Law 143/1992 in its Article 3, Section 4 of the government instruction, according to which they are paid their salaries with 25-percent bonuses provided they do not engage in business but only serve in the Army!

The Klinlab lease contract (let us assume that the same ministerial office is responsible for its organization, which refused other privatization projects, including one from Canada) rents the relevant part of UVN for 720,123 korunas [Kc] annually to the, of course, not-yet-existing legal entity, and the money was then lent to them interest-free for a fixed term—i.e., until the purchase contract is signed. All of that happens on 1 December 1993. Material and supplies worth dozens of millions is passed on to Klinlab without inventory, and, when an inventory is taken of the furniture and equipment, it is calculated at write-off prices. Regarding the laboratory equipment valued at approximately Kc30 million, then, Klinlab chooses what it needs, and purchases (until the date of the purchase contract, it will use it free of charge) the equipment at a later date.

So, this is the expedient lie about Engineer Kalousek, of which we are guilty.

The military equipment that was profitable for the Army, including the equipment purchased for taxpayer's money, will pass into private hands. The money-losing equipment will be kept by the Army.

Of course, some soldiers wanted to object. That was an ill-advised idea. After all, the appropriate commission investigated it. Even Colonel Krizenecky put his iron in the fire, and so did Military Prosecutor Dr. Novak. The same one who was investigating but never concluded the investigation of the activities of another man of the Kalousek-type at the Defense Ministry, the current director of the Nase Vojsko [Our Army] publishing house, Jakub Cisar—of course, that was still in the Orbis publishing house.

We will reach the stage of socialism in our country, we will be successful in defending the peace, and we will thwart the iniquitous activities of traitors, and so on along the arduous path toward a better tomorrow. The officers will get paid (by us, friends) for not engaging in business. They conduct business (with our money). Are we to believe that the sale of microbes, eventually to be thrown into a synagogue as an example, presents a problem for such enterprising entrepreneurs?

Klaus Leaves for Three-Day Visit to Finland

LD2403182194 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus left for a three-day official visit to Finland late this afternoon. Miroslav Konvalina reports from Ruzyne Airport:

[Konvalina] We do not have any problems in bilateral contacts with Finland. On the contrary, Vaclav Klaus will affirm our permanent interest in this northern country. He gave us his reasons a few weeks ago, after returning from Norway, which so far was the last Scandinavian country he visited.

[Begin Klaus recording] We should not forget that the Czech Republic, with its geographic size and number of inhabitants, must logically seek partners not from among the superpowers, as we thought at a certain time in the past. Norway and Finland are our natural partners. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Ukrainian Minister Discusses Trade Possibilities

AU2403135294 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Mar 94 p 14

[Article by Marta Stolarova on interview with External Economic Relations Minister Oleh Slyepichev in Prague; date not given: "Practical Mechanisms Are Sought for New Revival of Mutual Relations"]

[Text] "It is delightful that, despite all of the crisis economic phenomena and our passing through a complex period of transformation, our mutual relations have not significantly suffered." Oleh Slyepichev, Ukrainian external economic relations minister, stated this in an interview for HOSPODARSKE NOVINY following his talks with the Czech economy ministers with whom he signed, at the end of last week, treaties on economic cooperation and support, and mutual protection of investments.

"Because mutual relations used to be centrally controlled, we are searching for suitable mechanisms for their revival," the minister said. That was one of the reasons the two partner institutions, the Ukrainian External Economic Relations Ministry and the Czech Industry and Trade Ministry, agreed to create a mixed, broadly conceived interdepartmental commission, which would even include representatives from customs, the banking sphere, and so forth, and devote itself to the building of mutual relations.

The Czech Republic and Ukraine have already prepared a legal basis for this, but we cannot avoid some problems in the near future. According to the minister, these problems emerge particularly in the sphere of payments. The volume of mutual trade has markedly declined of late years to reach a current turnover value of approximately $200 million. The trade is more or less balanced. "We should try to keep up our trade, even with the payment difficulties, because there are priorities, feasible solutions to the payment difficulties that must be sought. I assume that our banks will deal with this in the very near future, perhaps in April," Slyepichev emphasized.

Of the specific priorities in mutual trade relations, the minister pointed to the pressing need for restoration and continuous supply of spare parts for the extensive pool of the Czech trolleybuses and streetcars in Ukrainian cities. Ukraine, for its part, used to supply the Czech Republic with iron ore, and it would be difficult to find a replacement for this market. "Hence, we are now looking at the possibilities of joint enterprise and mutual investments, with the idea of not only supplying our two markets but also penetrating third markets," the minister emphasized.

To a question regarding the financing options for the planned trade, the minister replied that such options exist—opening accounts, clearing, and barter trade. At this time, according to him, it is necessary, above all, to create favorable conditions for direct cooperation between enterprises, the more so because, in certain areas, a little effort could bear fruit in a very short time. In this context, Minister Slepichev spoke about his talks with the Association for Trade with Ukraine, which collects bids for the supply of small bakeries, breweries, and meat-industry-processing lines, and seeks contacts for Ukrainian buyers. The representatives of the interested sectors already agreed to help realize these deals through certain mediating activities.

Zieleniec Discusses Cooperation, EU With Dutch

LD2403171994 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Dutch Foreign Minister Peter Kooijmans, who has joined the delegation of the Netherlands' Queen Beatrix in Prague, had talks today with his counterpart, Josef Zieleniec. Klara Stejskalova reports:

[Stejskalova] The Czech foreign affairs minister welcomed, in the beginning, the visit of the Netherlands royal couple to our country. The two ministers then agreed that mutual relations between the Czech Republic and the Netherlands were good. That is why questions of multilateral cooperation were the main topic of their conversation.

They talked, above all, about the European Union [EU], which the Czech Republic intends to join in the future. According to the two foreign ministers, the EU is currently undergoing dramatic moments, as confirmed by the current crisis on the question of the lower blocking minority by percent required by Britain. The emergent crisis only confirms the need for discussion on the future philosophy of the EU.

The agenda of the Dutch-Czech talks also included questions on the Partnership for Peace program and overall security in Europe.

Consults With Germans on Relations

LD2403205994 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] During the talks being held in Prague by Dieter Kastrup, state secretary of the German Foreign Ministry, both sides made a great effort to take a step forward in their bilateral relations. This was said by Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec, who observed that, although these relations are good and friendly, they nevertheless contain some problem areas. Both sides are working very hard to find a way to resolve them. Zieleniec also noted the importance of their having also discussed ways of organizing a dialogue with Germany.

Speeches at European Banking Forum Highlighted

AU2403164094 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by "(fr)": "The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Considers Support for the Financial Sector and the Infrastructure To Be Its Priorities"]

[Text] Prague—During the past six months, the period in which I have been in my new job, I have focussed, among other things, on reappraising the bank's medium-term aims, said European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] President Jacques de Larosiere yesterday in a speech to the European Banking Forum in Prague. According to him, the new regulations should enable the EBRD to fulfill its mandate in the best manner possible—that is, by assisting the reform process in Central and East Europe.

We would like to come closer to the local private sector, to focus on support for its development, and to be active in all of the countries of the region, said de Larosiere. In his opinion, the EBRD should be more involved in the capital inputs into the enterprises, and it is also necessary to emphasize the significance of the financial sector for the successful course of the reforms. Support for the development, first and foremost, of private business initiatives in the infrastructure sphere, which is the driving force behind an economy's growth, remains a priority.

In his speech, the president confirmed the EBRD's intention to become capitally involved in developing the financial sector in Central and East Europe. The bank has already confirmed its intention to invest a total of 111 million European Currency Units in 11 financial institutions in eight of the region's countries. "We were asked by the management of the Czech Komercni banka [Commercial Bank] to become involved in purchasing some of the shares from the forthcoming issue," said de Larosiere. However, in his opinion, it would be a greater success for the Czech economy if the entire issue is absorbed by the local market.

The policy of the European Union [EU] toward the countries of East Europe in the trade issue should be more liberal since the EU's policy still seems too shortsighted and egoistic in this respect. This statement was made by former British Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont after he delivered his speech to the European Banking Forum. Norman Lamont added that enterprises in some postcommunist countries are frequently supported less by the state than, for example, Italian or Spanish enterprises, and, consequently, this issue should not prevent these countries from being admitted into the European Union.

In his speech to the European Banking Forum, Zdenek Drabek, an adviser to the governor of the Czech National Bank, referred to the similarity of the measures introduced by the East European states in reforming the banking sector. The European Banking Forum sessions held at midday and in the afternoon of Tuesday [22 March] concentrated on the establishment and activity of the East European commercial banks and the issue of the influx of foreign capital into the transforming economies.

EU Official Views Integration

AU2403211494 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by "(fr)": "Countries Should Stop Shunning the Problem of Expansion, Says the EU Vice President"]

[Text] "Euro treaties securing the basic economic and political dialogue between the European Union [EU] and the countries of Central and East Europe should assume a multilateral aspect. Treaties between the postcommunist countries should be adjusted in the same way," said Henning Christophersen, vice president of the European Union, at a meeting of the European Banking Forum in Prague yesterday. Should the contrary be the case, Europe may find after yet another integration that it has to face several hundreds of incompatible bilateral treaties.

The European Union decided last summer that it would support the multilateral aspect of treaties, and the EU foreign ministers established that they would invite their Eastern colleagues for cooperation. The EU finance ministers also arrived at an identical conclusion on Monday evening [21 March], Christophersen stressed.

Euro treaties are expected to greatly liberalize mutual relations, and the establishment of a free trade zone should become the main objective before full membership is assumed, the vice president added. Despite the needed rapprochement of economic policies, the East European countries should not make the same mistake as the European Union—that is, introduce a vast system of state supports and subsidies.

We can see that the European Union is hesitating about its expansion, Christophersen said. Questions are being raised regarding the pressure exerted by the competitors, the decisionmaking process in such a large group, agricultural policy, and structural funds [strukturalni fondy]. According to him, the countries of Central and East Europe are also hesitating to a certain extent. They have to sort out problems with meeting EU social and ecological standards, carrying out economic conversion, the functioning of democracy, respecting minority rights, and introducing the EU legal system. Both sides should stop hesitating and avoiding problems, Christophersen stressed. According to him, the European Union was not established in the 1950's because the member countries loved each other but because it was necessary, in view of the failure of diplomatic structures.

Parliament Official Prioritizes Security Issues

AU2403124394 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 12, 21-27 Mar 94 pp 1, 10

[Interview with Vladimir Suman, chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee, by Jaroslav Spurny; place and date not given: "I Am Nobody's Friend"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Spurny] Your committee and, subsequently, parliament will have to approve the report on the security of the state. How do you see security?

[Suman] Every state promotes, by means of the government, its interests abroad and tries to do what it can to limit what we call security risks. Today, however, neither the government nor the parliament has the material on which it could assess the external and internal security risks of the Czech Republic.

Such material is simply indispensable and should specify the priorities of the risks mentioned in it. We must decide which of them to cover by repression, which by legislative measures, and which by organizational steps, and which threaten us in the foreseeable future, and so forth. Precisely the fact that no such material exists makes it possible for our representatives to issue different statements on foreign policy. I believe some people are not interested in prioritizing our interests because that enables them to present their own personal opinions. I believe this to be contrary to the interest of the Czech Republic.

Regarding the report that is to be prepared, it was requested by the deputies and is a reaction of the Chamber to the fall report by Minister Ruml, which, however, did not report on the overall security situation of the Republic but only about the domain of the interior minister. We have not yet received an overall report, which should be prepared by the interior and the defense ministers and BIS [Security Information Service] director.

[Spurny] What do you believe to be the most critical security risks for the Czech Republic?

[Suman] I will start with the greatest ones. First, it is the development in Russia, where anything can happen. Militant nationalism is another danger. If it is proved in former Yugoslavia that aggression pays, it will serve as a clear sign for other countries in which this nationalism has so far been expressed in only a milder form. Organized crime also represents a genuine threat. This applies also to internal risks.

At home, I see the danger in expressions of racism, in the emergence of extremist movements, and, of course, in the development of crime, although it is no longer rising as fast as in previous years. [passage omitted]

[Spurny] Why has the acting head of BIS, Stanislav Devaty, not been appointed to the post?

[Suman] During the coalition talks, it was agreed which party would be given the post of defense minister and that the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] would give up its claim to this post in exchange for another appointment. It was mentioned that it could be BIS. Internal security is affected by two sectors—Interior and BIS. The ODA and the Christian and Democratic Union [KDU] consider it very problematic for a single political party to control both these sectors. It is difficult for me to speak about it, however, because I was also mentioned as a possible candidate for the job.

[Spurny] The post of [Interior] Minister Ruml is also frequently questioned. Recently, it is particularly the social democrats who have focused on this post.

[Suman] Before tackling this question, let me explain that, although Ruml and I are not friends, our mutual relations have always been very courteous. Regarding the demands for his recall, I have already explained it once to Mr. Zeman [CSSD chairman, who has called for Ruml to be recalled]. The Social Democrats [CSSD] speak only about the adverse development of the crime rate. I believe the opposition should come up with new concepts so the voter can choose from several alternatives. I suspect that the conduct of the left wing is purely purpose-oriented because the minister is considered a symbol of the struggle against the Bolsheviks. That is why the opposition is after his head. Jan Ruml is a very impulsive person, who sometimes acts in a mercurial way, but, at this time, I do not know a single person who would be able to do the job of interior minister substantially better than he.

[Spurny] What do you think about developments in the Czech Army?

[Suman] No changes, and personnel changes, in particular, affected the Army before the beginning of 1993. Even last year's screening did not solve this problem because it, as I also believe, fell short of its objective. The assessment was often done by people with a very questionable past.

I imagined that several of the least untrustworthy officials at the highest level would be chosen. These commanders were to appoint their subordinates, and, if they chose wrongly, they would bear full responsibility.

[Spurny] As an economist, Prime Minister Klaus allegedly does not attribute such importance to security issues as they deserve.

[Suman] I do not know the prime minister well enough. I can only speak about his opinion concerning the intelligence services. I know that it was not easy to convince him of the importance of intelligence services. He advocated an integration of espionage and counterespionage in both the civilian and the military services. For me, a model that could lead to a threat to democracy is completely inadmissible. It testifies to a not very thorough knowledge of intelligence work. A characteristic feature of his personality may have played a role here: He came to a certain conclusion and was convinced that it was the correct one because it was his opinion.

[Spurny] The case of the bugging of Justice Minister Novak has not been clarified. What was the reason for the failure?

[Suman] The several hours immediately following the discovery of the bugs testify to the failure of our professional services. This applies, however, only if it was not intentional, which I do not expect. [passage omitted]

Clinton Message Seen as Endorsing New Government

AU2403144794 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Mar 94 p 1

[Commentary by Leopold Moravcik: "A Signal for Slovakia"]

[Text] In the message of congratulations addressed by U.S. President Bill Clinton to Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik, the following sentence attracted my attention: "In the spirit of our recent successful meeting in Prague, I am looking forward to cooperation with you in support of our common targets in shaping a new, integrated Europe that is democratic, safe, prosperous, and free." Though it is possible to glean a lot from the dry words of a message of congratulations about the attitude of another country's representative toward an up-and-coming politician, it is not customary for the one who congratulates to also assume a stand on domestic political developments and to lean toward one side in the struggle between two opinions.

President Clinton did that.

We still remember well the words of former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, in which he called President Michal Kovac's activity during the meeting with Bill Clinton in Prague a "wasted opportunity," with reference, among other things, to negative reactions of the U.S. side.

President Clinton did not have to use the expression "successful meeting in Prague" in his congratulatory message. Nonetheless, he did, thereby entering, apparently consciously, into the Kovac-Meciar conflict. The course of action by the Slovak delegation during this meeting was not necessarily flawless, yet the President of the United States wants it to be considered successful, which he made publicly known.

President Clinton thus sent a clear and easily understandable signal to Slovakia—a signal for the new government and also for the opposition.

Deputy Prime Minister on Washington Talks

AU2403171094 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Mar 94 p 11

[TA SR report: "Creating Prerequisites for a Loan; Washington Is Interested in the Ability of the Provisional Government of the Slovak Republic To Function"]

[Text] Washington—"The U.S. side inquired whether there would be consensus in the new Slovak Government among all the political parties that participated in its formation and whether there are not any differences of principle among them that might jeopardize its ability to function," Deputy Prime Minister Brigita Schmognerova told the TA SR correspondent after her talks with Alexander Vershobow, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for Europe.

According to her words, Alexander Vershobow expressed satisfaction with Prime Minister Moravcik's statement that the government would strive to calm down the political situation and with the government's determination to pursue a positive policy toward minorities.

The talks were also attended by Ralph Johnson, coordinator of U.S. assistance to the countries of Central and East Europe. The two representatives voiced apprehension lest the interim nature of the present government unfavorably influence the government's economic policy and economic life become excessively politicized, especially during the election campaign.

The Slovak deputy prime minister replied to this that the future government would undoubtedly be a coalition one and that some and, possibly, even all of the current coalition parties would probably participate in its formation. Therefore, it would be shortsighted of them to misuse economic power for their own political aims because they would have to bear the consequences for this after the elections. "This line of argumentation convinced the U.S. side," Schmognerova said.

The subject of Brigita Schmognerova's talks with IMF Executive Director William Kieckens was the extension of a so-called standby credit to the Slovak Republic to reinforce its foreign-exchange reserves. The extension of the credit would at the same time be an expression of trust in [the government's] economic policy and an important signal for other financial institutions.

According to Brigita Schmognerova, during its February visit to Slovakia, an IMF mission arrived at the conclusion that the fulfillment of one of the indicators for the provision of the credit—that the [budget] deficit not exceed 4 percent of gross domestic product—will be very difficult to achieve. It did not content itself with the previous government's assurances that this indicator would be achieved by tightening discipline regarding expenditures and proposed additional measures to meet this indicator, which, however, the previous government did not have time to approve.

Brigita Schmognerova did not tell the TA SR correspondent that specific measures had been proposed. She only said that one part concerns the solution of the deficit and another the monetary program of the Slovak National Bank.

"During the talks, we reached the conclusion that it is exceptionally important to achieve those indicators. If we are able to fulfill them by other measures [than those proposed by the IMF mission], however, the IMF will essentially accept that," Schmognerova said.

Foreign Minister on Relations With Hungary

LD2403192794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] The outside world views the region of Central Europe through the prism of Slovak-Hungarian relations, Slovak Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan told Ildiko Nagy, our correspondent in Bratislava.

[Nagy] For Slovakia, its relationships with the Czech Republic and Hungary are most important in the Central European region, at present. The latter is so in spite of the fact that it is not as we would like it to be, Eduard Kukan, Slovak foreign minister, told a Hungarian radio correspondent today. Then he continued as follows:

[Kukan, in Slovak, fading into Nagy's report in Hungarian] The outside world views this region in which we live, Central Europe, through the prism of Slovak-Hungarian relations. It is in the interest of the international organizations—and the minister was convinced of this as UN ambassador—to stabilize this relationship, so that the number of sources of tension in the world does not increase, so that this region does not constitute a serious problem for the international organizations.

The current Slovak Government observed with pleasure that its first statements, by which it would like primarily to encourage the Hungarian side to start a dialogue, were received favorably by its Hungarian counterparts, the foreign minister said.

To my question of whether the start of a dialogue could take place in April, Kukan replied that no decision had been reached on this yet, but a relationship ought to be developed between the two neighboring countries, regardless of the governments that happen to be in power. The Hungarian elections are the country's internal affair, and the people have the right to decide what kind of government they want.

The Slovak Government, regardless of what Hungary's new leadership will be like, would like to shape the two countries' relationship so that this leads to a solution of the existing questions, Kukan told the correspondent of Hungarian radio.

Kovac Accused of Installing 'Presidential System'

AU2403154494 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 21 Mar 94 p 2

["Open letter" from Jozef Prokes, deputy to the National Council of the Slovak Republic for the Slovak National Party and deputy prime minister in Vladimir Meciar's outgoing government, to President Michal Kovac; place and date not given: "Weapon Against Democracy"]

[Text] Your Excellency, allow me, first of all, to congratulate you on the attainment of the presidential system and on the manner in which Your Excellency brought it about.

I found the permanent accusations of Meciar wanting to install a presidential system suspicious from the very start, as he was not the president. Logic clearly tells one that he would be against himself. But who is asking for logic! Anyone assaults logic nowadays. Am I not right, Your Excellency?

Or do you think that the ruling by the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic concerning interpretation of Article 111 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic—I quote: "The president of the Slovak Republic appoints and recalls other members of the government at the proposal of the prime minister...."—that the president need not accept the prime minister's proposal, and interpretation of Article 87, section 2—I quote: "Laws passed by the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] are signed by the NRSR chairman, the president of the Slovak Republic, and the prime minister of the Slovak Republic"—that the prime minister is obliged to sign a law after its second approval in the NRSR, is in conformity with logic? The diction in both instances is the same. Or is this contradictory interpretation by the Constitutional Court due only to ignorance of the Slovak language?

Let us return, however, Your Excellency, to the Constitutional Court's ruling on Article 111 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic that Your Excellency need not accept the prime minister's proposals for the appointment of other government members. This is fabulous! Now and in the future, Your Excellency can completely ignore election results. Your Excellency will simply refuse to appoint a minister as long as the new prime minister will not propose to you the "right" one, selected by Your Excellency.

Incidentally, why should you not also choose a prime minister who is to your liking? Nowhere in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic is it written that anyone has the right to propose to Your Excellency a prime minister, let alone that Your Excellency would have to accept such a proposal. It is only a good custom in democracies that candidates for government members are nominated by the political entity that had won the elections and that the president accepts these candidates. But why should you let yourself be guided by this? After all, it is only a custom from something called democracy. Who cares about citizens' will? One need not worry one's head about that.

As a matter of fact, even though, according to Article 102, letter (f) of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, you appoint and recall the prime minister and other members of the government, it is not written there that you must appoint a prime minister. Why not try it out? Following the ruling by the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic on Article 111 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, I would not be surprised at all if the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic arrived at the conclusion that you need not appoint a prime minister.

Let us return, however, to the gratifying possibility of ignoring election results, which the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic placed in your hands. Should the election winner disagree with the government selected by Your Excellency and NRSR deputies refuse to approve its policy statement, you will simply send them home, under Article 102, letter (d) of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, and will dissolve parliament. Even though the Constitution states that the NRSR chairman will call new elections within 30 days, it is not written there that he must do so. The devil knows how the Constitutional Court would decide. Does he have to? Does he not have to? Must he not?

Does Your Excellency realize those amazing possibilities? A single ruling by the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic managed to turn the entire system of power upside down. A parliamentary system has been transformed into a presidential one! Article 102, letter (d), whose original aim was to compel the election winner to responsibly approach the government formation, has been turned into a dangerous weapon against democracy in the hands of Your Excellency.

Your Excellency has really pulled it off. Let me congratulate you once again. I always knew that one should not forget popular wisdom. The one, for example, about the thief shouting catch the thief.

[Signed] Jozef Prokes, NRSR deputy

P.S. Does Your Excellency think that the ruling by the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic on Article 111 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic is a consequence of the insufficient ability to think logically and to work out in one's mind the consequences of one's decisions or that it is the result of ignorance of the Slovak language? Or is something completely, but completely, different involved?

P.P.S. I dared express my opinion. Is that still allowed?

New Howitzer To Be Manufactured This Year

AU2403163894 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Mar 94 p 4

[CTK report: "The Heavy Engineering Works Have Exclusive Rights to Zuzana"]

[Text] Dubnica—A new 155-mm howitzer, code-named "Zuzana," designed for ammunition corresponding to NATO standards, will be manufactured in the ZTS [Heavy-Engineering Works] Dubnica state enterprise during the second half of this year. This statement was made yesterday by Peter Koncier, the director of ZTS in Dubnica nad Vahom. According to him, the howitzer will be introduced commercially following the appropriate trials in the second half of this year. ZTS Dubnica arranged the development of the Zuzana howitzer in the past; therefore, it has the exclusive rights to the results of this howitzer's development as opposed to those of the older type, Dana, whose modernization is taking place concurrently with the development of Zuzana.

The project to modernize the Dana howitzer, manufactured since 1979 for the unified 152-mm-caliber Warsaw Pact munitions, was arranged and financed by the Czechoslovak Army, and the two successor armies have a claim to the results of its development.

The Zuzana howitzer belongs to the high-tech category, which fully corresponds to the highest requirements of the North Atlantic Alliance, and could, therefore, also be sold to Western armies. Director Koncier emphasized that the development of such a specialized system takes many years. The results of the development of one system are carried over into the development of the other as partial results. He also commented that the Germans have announced that they will bring a howitzer similar to Zuzana onto the market in 1998. Part of the Zuzana howitzer trial series is intended for the Slovak Army, which will support Slovak industry.

President Interviewed on EU, Media Freedom

BR2403161094 Brussels L'ECHO in French 24 Mar 94 p 5

[Interview with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz by Francoise Delstanche; date and place not given: "Arpad Goncz: 'Hungary's Priorities Will Stay the Same'"]

[Text] The Hungarian president believes that Eastern Europe will become a major market for the European Union (EU) provided that the EU consents to open up its markets.

A striking figure on the Hungarian literary scene, President Arpad Goncz is certainly the most popular political figure in his country. A renowned former opponent of the communist regime, he is highly respected and represents a kind of moral authority in the country. For two years now he has devoted himself to defending one of the key pillars of democracy: freedom of the press. In this interview he presents his views on this subject as well as on the rapprochement between his country and the EU to L'ECHO. At this juncture, it should be noted that on Tuesday the Hungarian parliament gave the green light to the government to submit an official application for EU membership. That will be done this 1 April, Hungarian Prime Minister Peter Boross announced.

[Delstanche] Your country would like to join the EU and NATO. Do you, like Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, think that 1999 will be too late to join the EU?

[Goncz] Yes, I share this view entirely. We would like to join as soon as possible so as to anchor our position among the Western economic system. However, accession also means integration in a security system. Our security does not necessarily have to be guaranteed by NATO. However, the role of the WEU has not yet been clarified, no more than that of the Atlantic Alliance.

Nevertheless, we believe that our security should not necessarily be regarded exclusively from the military point of view, but rather considered from a social, material, economic viewpoint, which also implies economic development.

Meanwhile, the Partnership for Peace has constituted a very important step forward toward greater security, first because it is an open system and because that means there can be a certain amount of differentiation between the various countries, and second, because the various possible forms of cooperation mean that it can be adapted to local peculiarities.

[Delstanche] Does firing 129 journalists from the state radio represent a method that is compatible with Western norms regarding the freedom of the press?

[Goncz] The important thing is to understand that it is compatible with the norms regarding freedom of the press as enshrined in the Hungarian Constitution. The provisions of the Hungarian Constitution stipulate quite unambiguously that the freedom of the press be respected, as must citizens' rights to express their opinions. Since until now we have not had any law governing the media, a law that sets out the situation and position regarding electronic media, for the time being it is up to the government to ensure the impartiality of the media while we wait for such a law to be enacted. I fervently hope that the government will meet this obligation.

I would like to add that in Hungary we have set up a democratic institutional system. This system is working, but in a fledgling democracy there is also a need to learn the unwritten rules, which takes some time. I am not certain that the preelectoral period is the best time to learn them.

[Delstanche] Hungary is often cited as the pioneer of economic and political reforms in Central and Eastern Europe. However, the discontentment seems to be increasing, not only in the political arena, but also at the economic level. What adjustments do you intend to make to your economic strategy?

[Goncz] We were indeed pioneers regarding economic transformation, for the reforms introduced in Hungary preceded those launched in other countries by roughly 10 years. And I am absolutely certain that there will be no drastic change. Firstly, because we have three priorities at the economic level: We must bring inflation under control, get to grips with the budget deficit, and reduce the rate of unemployment.

These three objectives are calling for compromises on a daily basis. This means to say that any government which comes to power will be obliged to take account of economic realities.

It is true that at the economic level, society was expecting a greater share of the new power. However, it started out with a sizeable foreign debt. Moreover, the country, the government, and society were no more prepared for the collapse of the markets in the East than they were for the economic decline that has prevailed in Western Europe.

Throughout the region the crisis is rampant, and we will only have put the situation behind us when we manage to increase production, which has dropped in all the countries. In addition, our region will constitute the largest market for Western Europe in the near future. However, for us to be able to welcome its products and prove to be solvent, the Western markets must definitely be opened up. To have one market, another market must be assured in return. That is in our common interests.

[Delstanche] The polls are predicting that the Socialist Party will win the elections. Do you accept the interpretation according to which the success of this party is provoked by the economic difficulties caused by the transition, and do you see any danger in this apparent rise of the socialists?

[Goncz] No result can be prejudged, and in my capacity as head of state, I am bound over to bow to the opinions of the electorate. However, regardless of whichever party

or coalition comes to power, it is certain that the priorities regarding foreign policy will not change. For from this point of view there is a complete consensus at national level. The economic priorities will remain the same, for if we are really seeking to join the international community, we cannot do an about-turn. So it is up to the electorate to decide how we might succeed in meeting these priorities, which will remain unaltered.

UN Envoy on Policy Toward Former Yugoslavia

AU2403163494 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Mar 94 p 3

[Interview with Andre Erdos, Hungarian ambassador to the United Nations, by Laszlo Gereb; place and date not given: "Our International Obligations Are More Important"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The importance of a dialogue with Belgrade markedly appears in official statements about Hungary's policy toward former Yugoslavia. Does this contradict UN policy?

[Erdos] Not at all, on the contrary: The political settlement requires a dialogue with all sides, irrespective of how the international community judges any of the sides morally or politically. Generally, I find it extremely important to have a rational and consistent Hungarian policy toward our neighbors, and I find a courageous initiative quite correct. However, let me add that relations with the Serbs seems to be a separate issue, because things occurred along our southern border and this makes our system of relations there different from our relations with Romania, Slovakia, or any other neighbors. This does not at all contradict the fact, in terms of Hungarian policy regarding the Yugoslav crisis, that it was clear from the very beginning that this policy is not against an ethnic group, against the Serbian people, but against a certain Serbian policy and the means used to implement this policy, means repeatedly condemned by the UN Security Council such as the forced acquisition of territories, ethnic cleansing, barbaric violations of human rights, and the destruction of historical and cultural values.

I think that both international and specific Hungarian viewpoints are equally important in our Yugoslav policy and, in the current political context, it would not be desirable to form some sort of priority. In other words, we must equally consider the future good-neighborly relations with Serbia and the viewpoints of the ethnic Hungarians living in Vojvodina as well as the principles and behavior norms declared at the London conference on the former Yugoslavia and stipulated by the obligatory Security Council decisions. We know from our own experience that keeping our international obligations is directly proportional with the prestige of Hungary's foreign policy and the credibility of our positions.

Belgian Prime Minister Makes Official Visit

Hears Opposition Views on EU

LD2203132494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene, who is in Budapest on an official visit, was briefed this morning about the situation of the minorities in Hungary. He then met leaders of the three largest opposition parties. Anna Gulyas reports:

[Gulyas] We told the prime minister that when judging the situation in Hungary it is necessary to consider the fact that, bearing in mind that these are the second free, democratic elections, neither the politicians nor public opinion have really learned the rules of the game, Ivan Petoe, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], said in a statement summing up the discussion. He added: The room for maneuver in forming coalitions is influenced by the fact that not only rational but very often emotional factors have an impact on the parties' coalition plans in Hungary.

Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], called the attention of Jean-Luc Dehaene to the fact that the European Union should take greater account of the characteristics of the region's countries. It would be good if Brussels acknowledges the achievements of the states concerned—including those of our country—in the development of a market economy, and if it desists from treating the issue of the east-central European countries' accession as one package.

In connection with NATO, we accept that the region must be treated as a unified whole, Gyula Horn said, adding that during the discussion he emphasized the Socialist Party's opinion that in Hungary a referendum should precede NATO accession.

The Hungarian political parties are committed to membership in NATO and the European Union. This was also affirmed by Viktor Orban, chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz], at the discussion.

In connection with full membership in the European Union, the Belgian prime minister again highlighted the importance of preparation. The extent of this influences the time it takes to gain membership.

NATO, EU Membership Discussed

BR2403152494 Antwerp DE FINANCIEEL-EKONOMISCHE TIJD in Dutch 24 Mar 94 p 5

[Article signed LDV: "Hungary Not Put Off by European Union Crisis. Membership Request on 1 April"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

NATO

After meeting with his Hungarian counterpart, Prime Minister Dehaene emphasized that Hungary's integration is a gradual process. This does not only apply to EU membership but also to NATO membership. The Partnership for Peace is a first step in that direction.

During his official contacts, however, the Belgian prime minister found out that the Hungarian socialists are not so keen on joining NATO. The socialists argue that they are not at all sure that the population wants such a membership.

In Hungary there has been quite a noise about NATO Air Force General Kehoe's statement that NATO's AWACS airplanes operating in Hungarian airspace were directly involved in the shooting down of four Serbian military airplanes by U.S. airplanes at the end of last month.

On 11 February Prime Minister Boross had ruled that the AWACS airplanes would not be allowed to use the Hungarian airspace if NATO was going to launch air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions around Sarajevo. The prime minister justified this unexpected decision by referring, among other things, to the difficult situation of the 430,000 or so ethnic Hungarians living in the Province of Vojvodina, which is part of Serbia.

The problem of the minorities was also one of the issues Prime Minister Dehaene brought up in Budapest during his meeting with the relevant state secretaries. On 7 July 1993 the Hungarian parliament passed a law on national and ethnic minorities. According to Dehaene, the law on minorities contains clauses which are not applicable to Hungary and is mainly intended as a signal to the neighboring countries, including Serbia and Montenegro.

Walesa Rejects Finance Minister Candidate

LD2503111194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1015 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Mar—President Lech Walesa cannot accept for the time being the candidacy of Dariusz Rosati to the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister, the president's spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told journalists today.

Walesa Spokesman Explains

LD2503122594 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] President Lech Walesa has not accepted Dariusz Rosati's candidacy for the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister, which was put forward to him by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak. The meeting between the president and the prime minister in the Belweder ended an hour ago.

[Reporter Piotr Jazwinski] The Belweder talks lasted less than 30 minutes. The prime minister presented the president with the motion to appoint Dariusz Rosati to the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister and a request to accept it. The president did not accept this candidacy because, as [presidential spokesman] Minister Andrzej Drzycimski explained, it created a double risk.

[Begin Andrzej Drzycimski recording] Mr. Dariusz Rosati may not sufficiently know the Polish realities. After all, his three years' absence from Poland does play an enormous role in these processes and the changes we were implementing, and this may make making difficult economic decision even more difficult. Also, too much may depend on secondhand information.

And the second thing, the second risk that the president raised was the Foreign Debt Servicing Fund [FOZZ] case. The legal situation has not been completed yet. The investigation is going on, although there are statements by the justice minister. Nonetheless, the case is still being investigated, and there may be unnecessary connections in such a difficult situation we find ourselves in. [end recording]

Dariusz Rosati was on the FOZZ Supervisory Board. Minister Drzycimski passed over in silence the question as to whether the failure to accept Rosati's candidacy would start a war between the Belweder and the Democratic Left Alliance. He added that the question of the president's signature on the Budget Law was still open. [video shows Walesa entering a hall and meeting Pawlak, Drzycimski speaking to journalists]

Daily Views Recent Coalition Conflicts

WS2503100094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by Ewa K. Czaczkowska and Kazimierz Groblewski: "Crises in the Coalition; Pawlak Wins"]

[Text] The prime minister is delaying the decision concerning Rosati. Politicians of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], who unofficially do not conceal their anger, officially say: Nothing has happened. "Nothing has happened," they said when the establishment of the government was being decided, when the prime minister had accepted Borowski's resignation.

It took the SLD a long time to find a successor to Borowski. When it finally...

Found Dariusz Rosati

...it started to demand that the prime minister accept him immediately.

Why is Pawlak delaying his decision? One reason has been given officially: He wants to familiarize himself with Rosati's views on the economy; he wants to be certain that there will be no conflicts between him and the "economic" ministers of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. Other reasons are mentioned only unofficially. Pawlak is afraid to employ such a high-ranking politician, who will be making better impressions in the mass media, especially on television. Before forwarding the appointment to the president, the prime minister also wants to explain the nature of Rosati's connections with the financial affair of the Foreign Debt Service Fund. He knows that, until he does that, the president will not take on the responsibility for this appointment.

The Result: One to One

In the games played so far in the coalition, the SLD won one point by forcing Pawlak to change the minister candidate lists when the government was being formed. The PSL scored one point as well—in the February conflict between Borowski and Pawlak.

The first serious crisis shook the coalition even before the government was formed. The SLD threatened that, unless the names on the list of the Cabinet members submitted to the prime minister were different from earlier joint agreements, it would leave the coalition. Pawlak had to make a concession and agree to sign the appendix to the coalition agreement.

The beginning of the next crisis was the issue of the privatization of Bank Slaski. Deputy Prime Minister Borowski took on responsibility for it. Despite that, the prime minister recalled, without Borowski's consent, Finance Deputy Minister Kawalec, which forced Borowski and the SLD to submit certain conditions to the prime minister. As a result of their rejection, Borowski handed in his resignation, which, to the surprise of SLD politicians, was accepted by Pawlak.

Borowski's issue revealed...

Still Other Controversies

...different views on the pace of privatization and on the budget (the prime minister announced on television

prosocial amendments to the budget, but, on the following day, as PSL leader, he agreed to support the government's version of the budget).

The government's information policy has become a steady source of controversy. The SLD has demanded all along that a government spokesperson be appointed; it has become increasingly critical of Press Secretary Ewa Wachowicz. Quite recently, SLD politicians have stated that the decision concerning the appointment of a spokesperson has already been made, but it is still not clear who will be appointed to this post.

The recent declaration by Minister Michal Strak that the replacement of voivodes has already been completed may finally end the coalition's disagreements concerning the filling of these posts.

There was no observance of the principle that the post of the voivode is filled by a candidate of the party that has won the elections in the given district. In February, out of 30 appointments to the posts of voivodes and deputy voivodes, only eight candidates were recommended by the SLD (one of them is a member of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic), and 22 were proposed by the PSL. As a consequence, the SLD demanded...

That the Role of Minister Strak Be Limited

...and that their representative be employed in the Office of the Council of Ministers, who would exert influence on the appointment of voivodes.

For several months now, the SLD has been making efforts to appoint its own people to deputy ministerial posts in the "presidential" ministries: the Ministry of National Defense [MON], the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW], and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ]. The bits of information that leak from the meetings between Aleksander Kwasniewski and Waldemar Pawlak suggest that the prime minister hears out the demands of the SLD head and then changes the subject of the meeting. He is said to have promised several times that he would take care of the issue. Most often his response is silence.

Pawlak is keeping Kwasniewski in suspense, he is delaying his decision; he...

Never Told Him "No," Though

...as far as the issue of deputy ministers was concerned, this is why it has not turned into an open conflict in the coalition.

The prime minister put off the decision, waiting for the Belweder to soften its negative stand. This tactic proved effective. The MSZ and MSW heads declared that they were ready to give deputy ministerial posts to the coalition; recently, the MON head agreed to that, too. Not long ago, he even threatened to submit his resignation if he was going to have a "party activist" in his ministry.

The closer the moment of the appointment of SLD Spokesman Zbigniew Siemiatkowski to be deputy minister of MON, the more quietly the SLD is protesting Jerzy Milewski's merging his positions in the National Security Office and in MON. Before that, National Defense Committee Head Jerzy Szmajdzinski of the SLD even went so far as to threaten the prime minister: He gave him several hours to say which function Jerzy Milewski was supposed to fulfill.

It is to the president's advantage that, in the coalition conflicts, Prime Minister Pawlak, rather than the SLD head, gain the upper hand. Walesa sometimes...

Discreetly Supports Pawlak...

which happened, for example, when he immediately signed Borowski's resignation. However, he does not allow the prime minister to triumph where he may triumph himself. This is why he took advantage of Pawlak's visit to Moscow.

All things seem to suggest that, no matter whether Rosati is appointed to the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister, Pawlak's position, in relation to the SLD, will be strengthened. The prime minister wins again because, by delaying the decision, he again places the SLD in the position of petitioner. Once again he gives everyone to understand that coalition agreements are only coalition agreements, appendixes are merely appendixes, but, in fact, everything is decided by him. Remaining silent and delaying decisions are the main methods employed by the prime minister. This is accompanied by obstinacy.

Minister Kaczmarek Interviewed on Privatization

PM2503103094 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 15 Mar 94 pp 1-2

[Interview with Wieslaw Kaczmarek, minister for ownership transformations, by Grazyna Saniewska; place and date not given]

[Text] [Excerpt] [Saniewska] Minister, what was the subject of your talks with representatives of the Jelfa work force during your visit to Wroclaw?

[Kaczmarek] I was asked whether the issue of the free shares that the Jelfa work force is supposed to receive will reflect the value of the input of effort contributed by the employees to the development of that prosperous firm—also, whether the minister has the official power to bypass regulations that are binding for everyone else. It was suggested that I award 15 percent of Jelfa shares free to the work force, or recommend that the Council of Ministers do so. In addition, the employees expressed their wish to buy a further 5 percent of their firm's shares. However, during quite blunt talks that we held with the firm's representatives, I refused to endorse such a procedure. This is because I believe that the allocation of shares to the work force should be decided within the firm on the basis of its statute. Jelfa's trade unionists

tried to persuade me to agree to different solutions, which depart from the regulations currently in force.

[Saniewska] But there is no shortage of examples throughout the country that prove that exceptions are being made to the rule. Why should Jelfa or Polifarb Wroclaw not set another precedent?

[Kaczmarek] There have indeed been several precedents, notably Kwidzyn, Gorazdze, Polifarb Cieszyn, and Tonsil. I am familiar with the last case from my own experience. I was obliged to buy out the promissory note drafted by my predecessor. There, the work force was not able to take advantage of the chance to buy their own company's shares on the same principles that had been enjoyed by the employees of the first five joint-stock companies to be floated on the stock market. There have been quite enough of these precedents, and I have no intention of bypassing the regulations set out in relevant parliamentary acts. The only cases where decisions to do so can be made at all must be truly exceptional, and I do not find such a situation at Jelfa—or in other enterprises whose work forces desire to make a major killing on the stock market in connection with the current boom. They want to grab as many shares for themselves as they can, at the lowest prices. However, such an attitude is very selfish when you consider the possibilities open to employees of the budget-funded sector, old age and disability pensioners, or the learned professions. I would not like to contribute to deepening divisions over privatization in our society. On the other hand, I intend to alleviate the effect of certain phenomena connected, for example, with purchases of company shares. That is why, in Jelfa's case, we intend to try out a different form of selling shares in public flotation. So we can avoid share "touts" and other irregularities and minimize the risk of going wrong with the selling prices of shares.

[Saniewska] Do you have plans to privatize our copper industry?

[Kaczmarek] This problem should be viewed from the perspective of at least 20 years and in terms of an eventual exhaustion of copper ore. This is because we must be prepared to bring in alternative solutions to compensate for the exhaustion of the raw material, so that we can at least make use of the infrastructure we have created there, including the copper-metallurgy sector and the entire copper-product-processing industry. All of this must be carefully planned so that, in case of economic disaster, that whole monoindustrial sector does not collapse into the sort of mess we already have in Mielec and Walbrzych. For the time being, we do not intend to privatize the copper plant, and, even more emphatically, we will not privatize its core element—that is, the integrated technological complex of mines and smelting plants. On the other hand, it might be that we will privatize the infrastructure and the firms constituting backup facilities for the whole complex. In turn, the main elements of the whole complex require a throrough restructuring to enable its particular components to talk the same financial language, so that it should be possible to prepare a detailed costs analysis of the whole enterprise. After all, it is the cost structure in the whole sector that will ultimately decide whether we can adjust to world prices and whether our copper plants do not lose in competition with their rivals.

[Saniewska] What do you think of the concept of placing parliament members hailing from parties that form the government coalition on the board of directors of the copper corporation?

[Kaczmarek] I feel bad about it. This is because I am forced to apologize for the fact that our coalition members have not withdrawn from their respective offices in the corporation. All of the other parliament members have done so because the law obliges them to do it. Only two of our own colleagues have not resigned, on the excuse that board members can be recalled only at a general meeting. Such a position does not become a member of parliament. Instead of engaging their energies in the cause of helping the copper sector, they are trying to create another source of possible unrest around themselves. Neither Sejm deputies nor senators are permitted to sit on boards of directors or hold office in joint-stock companies. And ministers are obliged to uphold these laws. That is why I consulted the Sejm and Senate speakers over this matter.

[Saniewska] Among the privatization guidelines approved by the Sejm, there is a provision stating that a joint-stock company owned by its work force can be set up only if no other, more advantageous offer has been received by the enterprise. Does this clause not give officials too many opportunities for arbitrary decisions? And is it not an attempt to undermine the emerging joint "employee-owned" companies?

[Kaczmarek] It is certainly not such an attempt because joint employee-owned companies have dominated our privatization scene. To every 1,000 of such companies, there are only 100 joint capital companies—that is, joint ventures with a strategic investor. The provision you mentioned should serve as a signal announcing the official state strategy. That strategy must pay priority attention to such elements as investors, minimum prices, and social benefit packages. When all of these factors are taken into consideration, employee-owned companies invariably lose out to solutions suggested by strategic investors. That is why, in our work on the the Enterprise Privatization Act, we intend to narrow somewhat the range of firms in which employees could set up their own joint-stock companies. They should be set up in enterprises whose work forces are not larger than 400 and whose annual turnover is lower than 12 million ECU's. Such preconditions are necessary if we are to avoid situations similar to that of Winiary, where a profitable firm could have been owned by a larger group of shareholders. From the viewpoint of its optimum development strategy, Winiary needs an aggressive investor. Why should we sell it to a group of employees? After all,

in matters of privatization, we must not be guided by short-term tactics designed to soothe the moods of the public. [passage omitted]

Szczecin Privatization Official Interviewed

PM2403154594 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI (Business section) in Polish 15 Mar 94 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Wieslawa Wlodarczyk-Wardacka, director of the Ministry of Ownership Transformations Szczecin Agency, by Pawel Winiarski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Winiarski] Ownership transformations give rise to many emotions and misunderstandings. What is more, some people are beginning to say that the privatization process is too slow and inefficient. Are these allegations true?

[Wlodarczyk-Wardacka] First of all, the Ministry of Ownership Transformations has no power to exert any kind of pressure on state enterprises to force them to choose the privatization path sooner rather than later. Nor does it have any interest in doing so. The decision rests first and foremost with the work forces of the firms in question. On the other hand, more than half of all enterprises in Poland are currently in the process of various kinds of ownership transformations. These processes include liquidation, restructuring, completion of privatization schemes, bankruptcy procedures, and transfer of the assets of certain firms into the administration of the State Treasury Agricultural Property Agency.

[Winiarski] How does Szczecin Voivodship rate against the background of your statistics?

[Wlodarczyk-Wardacka] Unfortunately, our region is hardly up with the national leaders. This is because ownership-transformation processes are being carried out at no more than just over 20 percent of firms that were originally set up by the voivoda or by central administration agencies. Even so, whereas we note relatively significant progress in the latter category, the group of enterprises dubbed "voivoda's firms" represents a minor proportion of enterprises currently undergoing privatization in the region. Since the beginning of 1991, transformation operations have been initiated at 71 firms, including 44 from the voivoda's "stable" and 27 administered centrally. Only one-third of the total number have actually been privatized. A dozen or so collapsed, and the rest were liquidated because of their poor financial condition. Four firms were sold to individual private investors, and several more entered joint-stock companies based on foreign capital. All in all, out of the total of 211 state enterprises, 95 were not included in any ownership-transformation processes at all. Just under one-third of all of the enterprises were transferred to the administration of the State Treasury Agricultural Property Agency.

[Winiarski] What form of privatization is currently most popular with work forces?

[Wlodarczyk-Wardacka] The most popular privatization model at present is leasing. Almost 75 percent of firms undergoing privatization choose that particular option. The decisive factors here are work forces' desire to become joint owners of the assets of their own enterprises, accompanied by mistrust of any new outside owners. We currently note a dangerous phenomenon whereby economic analyses are commissioned "to order" by enterprises from outside "consultancy firms." Instead of telling the truth, which is frequently brutal, they go out of their way to prove the correctness of the firms' choice of this or that particular privatization model. This might later turn out to be a very dangerous practice when it becomes apparent that the firm is unable to meet market demands and has no funds with which to meet the lease payments. We have such a situation now with the Regional Land Reclamation Enterprise, whose financial condition brings into question the original decision to privatize it in the leasing system.

[Winiarski] But surely someone must have approved that original decision....

[Wlodarczyk-Wardacka] Our agency notified the ministry of a number of reservations about the documents we were presented with at the time, but the work force's determination eventually persuaded the minister to make that decision. Our agency has relatively limited powers of intervention in ownership-transformation processes. We are merely an opinion-formulating organ, and we vet documents from the formal and legal angles. Of course, we can formulate a negative opinion, but that does not necessarily mean that a determined firm will not be able to have its way.

[Winiarski] A new type of ownership transformation is being introduced now, in the shape of the National Investment Funds. Is this form of privatization attracting much interest?

[Wlodarczyk-Wardacka] In 1992, when the project was first announced, three firms expressed an interest. Last year, another five firms joined them. At the moment, talks are under way with several more candidates eager to participate in this form of privatization. These are not impressive numbers, but that is also because a considerable number of firms are still poorly informed about the details of this new venture.

[Winiarski] How would you assess the present condition of the privatization scene in Szczecin Voivodship?

[Wlodarczyk-Wardacka] A measure of comfort may be derived from the fact that, for example, last year the Szczecin voivoda did not have to make even a single decision to liquidate an enterprise on grounds of poor economic condition. However, this does not mean that there are no such firms at all. There are, but they are making every effort to survive. In many cases, it is

obvious that administration by a board of commissioners would be an insufficient rescue measure that would only serve to prolong their slow death even more. Liquidation processes designed to precede privatization have been carried out successfully in seven firms. This may not be much, but it is still the best result we have noted over the past three years. However, on the whole, there is still too little activity in a significant number of enterprises that ought to be restructured. Szczecin Voivodship is a region with a somewhat exceptional structure. Huge areas are still in the hands of the State Farms, and, in these, privatization is proceeding very sluggishly. There are also a considerable number of enterprises whose privatization would require truly long periods of time and really comprehensive economic analyses. Nevertheless, even those processes could and should be speeded up a little. The trouble is that it is not within our sphere of competence to do the speeding up. A proportion of enterprises should be liquidated and sold as soon as possible. This is because they survive not by carrying out their statutory duties but, for instance, by subletting the land and the property they administer. On the face of it, their financial situation appears not too bad, but the State Treasury could still gain a lot by privatizing those firms. The phenomenon is rather widespread, and it should be opposed by individual enterprises' respective founding agencies. For the time being, any such opposition is not making many inroads. However, the reluctance to make appropriate decisions is also underpinned by the fear of inflation and can be seen as partly justified. Nevertheless, the time for radical decisions will be coming soon.

Turkish President Arrives on Official Visit

TA2303162094 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1500 GMT 23 Mar 94

[Text] Bucharest, Romania, Mar. 23 (A.A.)—President Suleyman Demirel, on an official visit to Romania, said on Wednesday that Ankara and Bucharest should cooperate to boost ties and help secure peace and stability in the Balkans.

"I believe the conflicts in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Middle East call for more frequent contacts between Romania and Turkey, two large states in the region," Demirel said in an address broadcast live on state radio from the Cotroceni Palace, where he met with Romanian President Ion Iliescu. Iliescu said Turkey and Romania were key countries for stability in the Balkans.

Demirel's visit is the second by a Turkish head of state since 1989, the year the communist regime of Nicolae Ceausescu was toppled in a bloody revolution.

In addition to the conflict in ex-Yugoslavia, the two sides discussed their increasing trade ties since the demise of communism. Turkish firms are involved in 2,649 ventures in Romania, the fourth largest number of any country. Turkey ranks ninth among countries in overall foreign investment in Romania since the 1989 revolution, at about 32.3 million U.S. dollars.

Demirel's visit coincides with the opening of a Romanian-Turkish bank in Bucharest. He also is expected to visit the port of Constantsa on the Black Sea, home of most of Romania's ethnic Turkish minority.

Demirel on Ties, Regional Problems

TA2403151794 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 2100 GMT 23 Mar 94

[Text] President Suleyman Demirel has stressed the inadequacy of shaping and sharing contemporary and universal values on paper, adding that the international community should collectively establish a new order in which peace, cooperation, and prosperity will reign. Demirel, on an official visit in Bucharest, participated in the dinner Romanian President Ion Iliescu gave in his honor this evening. TRT correspondent Mesut Ertugay reports from Bucharest:

[Begin recording] [Ertugay] Demirel, on an official visit in Bucharest, participated in the dinner Iliescu gave in his honor. During the speech he delivered at the dinner, Demirel indicated that Romania and Turkey, which share the same geography, historical neighborhood, and friendship, also share a common future. Explaining that the relations between the two countries are based on respect and security between states and love and understanding between the peoples, Demirel said that strengthening this friendship bridge will further common interests.

Demirel said extremist movements and aggressive nationalism are threatening state structures and causing wars in various parts of the world these days. Noting that international organizations are ineffective in fighting circles which are the cause of instability, Demirel stated that regional clashes cast a shadow over agreements. Demirel stressed that under these circumstances great duties befall Turkey and Romania. Demirel said:

[Demirel] We cannot accept that [word indistinct] in our region be made a center for instability like in the past. The first condition for this is that all regional states respect each others' territorial integrity and avoid making the existing border issues a reason for discussion. The geographical and historical realities of the Balkans do not permit additional ruptures.

[Ertugay] Recalling that the borders of the political geography in the Balkans were reshaped with the countries that emerged following Yugoslavia's dissolution, Demirel said that now the main concern should be to find a permanent solution to the human shame being lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Noting that the developments achieved under the leadership of the United States are very satisfactory, Demirel said that the Bosnian Serbs should also show the same political maturity as the Bosnians and the Croats. Demirel said:

[Demirel] Serbia and Nagorno-Karabakh, within today's borders, should take their rightful place among the Balkan countries. We will establish our future jointly and with the voluntary contribution of all our neighbors. Solidarity will take the place of clashes in our region. [passage indistinct]

[Ergutay] Iliescu, in turn, voiced Romania's concern over the clashes in the region. Iliescu stated that the clashes, the loss of lives, and the refugee drama in the former Yugoslav territories are preventing the people from having better living conditions and are adverse to democratic goals. Pointing out that Yugoslavia supports efforts toward finding a just solution to the issue, Iliescu added that they believe that a continuous security system should be established in Europe. Within this framework, Iliescu stated, they view the NATO as the sole organization which has the capability of establishing security in Europe. Indicating that Turkey and Romania have outstandingly good relations which have their roots based in history, Iliescu added that they greatly appreciate the Turkish people's readiness to share their economic and social success. [end recording]

Embassy News Conference Reported

TA2403150194 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1000 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] President Suleyman Demirel has been continuing his contacts in Romania. Stressing that Turkey wants stability in the Balkans and in Europe, Demirel indicated that once the two-year human shame in Bosnia-Herzegovina is eradicated, the region will enter a new cooperation environment. This morning Demirel held a

news conference in Bucharest where he is on an official visit. TRT correspondent Ertugrul Bulent Danaci reports from Bucharest:

[Danaci] Demirel held a news conference at the Turkish Embassy in Bucharest on the second day of his visit and answered Turkish correspondents' questions.

Pointing out that his contacts in Bucharest were very favorable, Demirel stated that Turkey and Romania have no problems and that a state-to-state and people-to-people friendship exists between the two countries. Explaining that the infrastructure which will constitute the basis of the bilateral relations has been in preparation for the last four years, Demirel recalled that several agreements were signed within this framework.

Demirel said that Turkey, a Balkan country and therefore a European country, aspires to a peaceful solution to the problems within the Balkan countries. Indicating that today Europe is faced with a security issue, Demirel said that the CSCE is part of this issue and that the CSCE could not function as expected during the Bosnia-Herzegovina situation.

Pointing to raised hopes in terms of things running smoothly in the world after the Soviet Union's dissolution, Demirel recalled that this was not achieved. In spite of all this, Demirel stressed, regional countries should work toward a composed and long-term cooperation for the happiness of their people. Within this framework, Demirel added, Turkey and Romania have good cooperation.

Recalling that Turkey supports Romania's inclusion in the European organizations, Demirel noted that Romania was the first country to sign the Partnership for Peace agreement with NATO.

Wishing Romania success in its efforts toward democracy and market economy, Demirel said that Turkey and Romania have good relations within the framework of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation [BSEC]. Demirel announced that following his meetings with the concerned heads of state, he would call for a BSEC summit meeting.

Answering a reporter's question on Turkey's depreciation by international financial institution, Demirel said that he cannot comment on Turkey's credit points dropping from 3B to 2B, since it was meaningless, and added that credits to be extended to Turkey should not be measured according to the B's. Demirel said: God help us if we are indexed to the B's. Turkey has difficulties and we have to accept them. Would we not have any difficulties if we had not dropped from 3B to 2B? I think that you should all believe that we are going to overcome these difficulties. Turkey will overcome all these difficulties.

Demirel will continue with his contacts in Bucharest in the afternoon.

Demirel Addresses Parliament

AU2403130894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] At the Metropolitan Hill Palace [parliament headquarters] today, Suleyman Demirel, president of the Republic of Turkey, who yesterday began a visit in our country, addressed a joint session of the two chambers of the Romanian parliament.

The festive occasion was opened by Chamber of Deputies Speaker Adrian Nastase, who emphasized the fact that our countries have a long joint history and today they have found each other again in [words indistinct] turning it into a joint source of further development. Nastase also said that the visit to Romania of the head of the Turkish state and of the delegation he is heading has a special significance both for the two countries and for our neighbors.

In his speech Turkish President Suleyman Demirel recognized the road left behind by our country after December 1989 on its way to pluralist democracy and market economy, a road which, as is only natural, is also full of obstacles; to overcome them one needs determination, patience, understanding, effort and time, Demirel said.

Talking about the evolution of cooperative relations between Romania and Turkey, Demirel said that it is characterized by mutual respect, the will to know each other better and increase efforts to further cooperation, and the sentiment of solidarity in difficult moments. In that context he mentioned the fact that Turkey currently ranks sixth in Romania's total trade dealings, and in fourth place in relation to the number of foreign companies investing in our country.

Reviewing the principal events in current international affairs, the head of the Turkish state noted that the peace process budding in the Middle East represents a hope that will influence the future of the entire area, after which he asserted that in the southern parts of Turkey there are possibilities for new cooperation.

Concerning the transformation currently occurring in the central and eastern parts of Europe, Demirel pointed out that the projected Partnership for Peace ensures the security and stability of Europe and adjacent areas, adding that his country learned with satisfaction about the fact that Romania was the first state to sign that accord.

On relations in the Balkans, the Turkish president said that some of the countries in that region are facing difficulties created by their transition to democracy and a free market economy and by certain ethnic problems that cause tension among the countries in that area.

After mentioning the fact that last week in Washington an accord was signed by Bosnian Muslims and Croatians, who decided to live together, Demirel appealed to the Serbs to join that process to contribute to the

reestablishment of peace and cooperation on the soil of the former Yugoslavia. He also requested that the nations in the Balkans support this opportunity that has been created and ensure a growing hope for peace, so that it can spread throughout the region.

In concluding his speech, referring again to our bilateral cooperation, the Turkish president pointed out that his country and Romania are two large countries in this area and they are develc ping their cooperation in a way that can be seen as an example for the entire region.

Demirel on Straits, Troops to Bosnia

TA2403185894 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Video report by Mesut Ertugay from Bucharest]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In a news conference at the Turkish Embassy in Bucharest today, President Suleyman Demirel commented on the recent developments with regard to the Turkish troops to be sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Demirel recalled that until now Turkey has always acted together with the rest of the world and contributed to UN services rendered for peaceful purposes.

Underlining the senselessness of the opposition to sending Turkish troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the president declared: Why should Turkish troops not be sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina? Greece is opposed to this on the grounds that it does not want neighbors to be involved. Is this the real issue? Actually, it is not, but the matter has been settled. [passage omitted]

Demirel said that a draft free trade agreement was submitted to Romania. The two sides also focused on cooperation in the fields of transportation, free trade zones, energy, tourism, promotion of investments, and the prevention of pollution in the Black Sea, Demirel recounted. The president said that he conveyed to Romania Turkey's views concerning safe passage through the Turkish straits.

[Begin Demirel recording] The current question consists of passage through the Istanbul and Canakkale straits. Soon it will be impossible to cross these straits. Currently there are 50,000 ships passing through the Istanbul strait. Within three or four years, especially following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, when Ukraine, Russia, and other countries will want to reach world markets and vice versa, this number is expected to reach 100,000. If you attempt to transport 100 or 200 million tonnes of oil via the straits, you will fail totally. This is impossible. Therefore, this matter does not only concern us. It is our concern only because of other countries' free commercial passage right through the straits. If, however, the straits are clogged, the right to free passage will automatically disappear. [end recording]

Demirel announced that Turkey has conveyed a technical statute formulated with the aim of guaranteeing safe passage through the straits to the relevant countries. [passage omitted]

Turkish-Romanian Bank Inaugurated

TA2503115294 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2000 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] President Suleyman Demirel has said that the Romania and Turkey have the political will necessary to further their relations, adding that investors in both countries should make the most of it. TRT correspondent Mesut Ertugay reports from Bucharest:

[Begin Ertugay recording] Demirel received Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu at the state guest house. Demirel stated that there is a great potential for furthering Turkish-Romanian relations in spite of difficulties and [word indistinct] situation. Pointing out that cooperation needs constant care, Demirel added that the two countries should ease the way for businessmen by eliminating their difficulties.

The Romanian prime minister, in turn, expressed his appreciation for Turkey's support in spite of all the difficulties. Stressing the importance Romania gives to furthering its relations with Turkey, Vacaroiu indicated that they aim to double the present $500 million trade volume.

Demirel and Romanian President Ion Iliescu inaugurated the Turkish-Romanian Bank established jointly by the two countries in Bucharest. Demirel said that the bank was similar to a door opening to further the relations between the two countries. He congratulated the partners of the bank for their initiative. Demirel noted that the businessmen will not only support investments in Romania and Turkey but also in a third country.

The Romanian president, in turn, said that the bank is a great step in the relations between the two countries and that it will make a significant contribution. Later the two presidents opened the first two bank accounts at the bank.

The Turkish-Romanian Bank, which will accommodate the trade area, was established with capital of approximately $4.5 million. Eighty percent of the capital belongs to the [word indistinct] and 20 percent belongs to the Romanian Trade Bank.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin met with his Romanian counterpart Teodor Viorel Melescanu. The meetings focused on the situation in the Balkans and the establishment of a federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina to achieve a permanent peace.

According to information obtained by a TRT correspondent, Cetin asked for the Romanian Government's help in influencing the Serbs to participate in the agreement

signed between the Bosnians and the Croats. It was reported that the Romanians received this request favorably. [end recording]

Failure of PDSR-Opposition Dialogue Examined

AU2303205794 Bucharest EXPRES MAGAZIN in Romanian 16-23 Mar 94 p 32

[Ion Cristoiu article: ""Why Did the PDSR-Opposition Dialogue Fail?"]

[Text] At the news conference of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party of Romania [PNTCD] on 14 March, the spokesman of that party announced that [PNTCD leader] Corneliu Coposu will no longer continue the dialogue with the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR]. Also on Monday, during his news conference, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu said that, in practical terms, a PDSR-CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania] alliance is impossible. Shortly before that, PDSR leader Adrian Nastase also expressed skepticism as far as the effectiveness of the dialogue with the CDR is concerned. From a practical point of view, these declarations represent the official funeral of the PDSR-opposition dialogue. I say the official funeral because as a matter of fact, this dialogue died when the government reshuffle was announced. At that moment it became clear that the reshuffle would give a fatal blow to the delicate process of rapprochement between the PDSR and the opposition, first of all because the reshuffle defied one of the claims of the CDR and the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) [PD(FSN)]—not to remove Nicolae Spiroiu from the helm of the Ministry of National Defense—and second, because the reshuffle took place in the middle of the dialogue that had just started between the PDSR and the opposition. The fact that the PDSR proceeded to a government reshuffle without even bothering to discuss it with the opposition represented clear proof that the openness toward the right wing was not taken seriously by Ion Iliescu's party. The idea of starting a dialogue between the PDSR and the opposition parties was received with great satisfaction and mainly with great hopes by the entire Romanian society. Taking into consideration the dispute between the PDSR and the nationalist-communist forces, the opening of this dialogue justified the belief in a major change at all levels of Romania's political life. While it was taking place, the dialogue enjoyed the support of independent politicians, journalists, and the public. A recent opinion poll by the IRSOP [Romanian Institute for Public Opinion Poll] shows that 60 percent of those who were questioned are in favor of a government that includes both the PDSR and the opposition. Taking into account also the possibility that this opinion poll, just like all the others made by the IRSOP so far, might be just a diversion, nevertheless the 60 percent rate shows us that Romania's population views the dialogue between the PDSR and the opposition favorably. The reason for the enthusiasm brought about by the opening of dialogue can be found in the complex reality currently prevailing in our country. It is clear that, in spite of all the propaganda declarations made by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and by some leaders of the ruling party, the serious effects of a political-economic bottleneck are being felt at all economic levels and by the whole society. This bottleneck is the result of a slow but continuous change within the ruling party. The PDSR started off as an antireformist party in the electoral campaign and won elections on this basis. Later the PDSR realized the domestic and international realities that are resolutely demanding the continuation of the reform. Even if it wanted to act differently, the ruling party could not oppose some serious but necessary decisions that have been taken in connection with increases in prices, unemployment, and in the fiscal area. Due to its move to the right, the ruling party came into contradiction with its allies. The current majority coalition is dominated by nationalist-communist forces. These forces exist and are felt not only in the Greater Romania Party [PRM], the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], and the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania [PDAR], but also in the PDSR. As a result of this, all the laws of the reform have been voted with great difficulty in the parliament. A significant number of similar laws are waiting in vain to be discussed. The implementation of the laws of the reform meets with serious opposition because of the bureaucracy that engulfs the entire state apparatus and the leadership of enterprises. This bureaucracy has gotten stronger and reached spectacular proportions through the alliance of the PDSR with the left-wing parties. The great majority of those who were moved by the wave of the December 1989 revolution has been removed. They were replaced by former second- and third-rate nomenclatura members of the Ceausescu period. A bureaucratic mentality is a typical characteristic of those former nomenclatura members. This means that they are scared of changes, they lack initiative, and have confidence—something they hide with difficulty—in the economic centralism. From all this, one can draw the conclusion that no matter how reformist the ruling party might have become, its intentions are hampered by an incontestable political reality, namely, the nationalist-communist character of the majority coalition and the useless but stubborn resistance of the bureaucratic forces that are in the middle of a restoration process. Under these conditions, the political-economic bottleneck is perfectly explainable. Both economy and politics are virtually paralyzed. The way out of the blockage could have been achieved only through a new formula of parliamentary majority, a formula in which the reformist forces would have dominated the coalition on which the government relies. This parliamentary majority that would have been established as a result of the PDSR-CDR and PD(FSN) alliance would have had also the immense advantage of boasting an overwhelming proportion in the parliament. The laws of the reform would have been adopted much more rapidly and much more efficiently. At the same time, the new coalition would have created a new atmosphere throughout the entire Romanian society. Under the power of the new political wave, the reformist forces in our country would have

gained courage, while the bureaucratic and the antireformist forces would have lost ground. Unfortunately, not only for our political life but also for the whole Romanian social life, the PDSR-opposition dialogue did not justify people's hopes. Was this the normal thing to happen? Was it normal that the dialogue was not carried to the end?

I believe that, looking logically at our social and political realities, the answer is affirmative. However, it is fatal that the dialogue did not to continue. The real reasons might be the following:

A. The presence of a gap between Ion Iliescu and the PDSR on the one hand and the CDR-PD(FSN) on the other. In the years that have passed since the December 1989 events, the contradiction between the opposition and those who grabbed the power has increased every day. In the beginning, the FSN and later the PDSR arranged numerous acts of diversion against the opposition and used the opposition as a target for violent accusations. In turn, the opposition contested the legitimacy of the new leadership and sometimes pleaded for its removal by force. Under the specific conditions prevailing in Romania after 1989 December events, the antagonism between the two political forces overstepped the borders of a normal democratic confrontation. The more so since in 1990 the battle reached the level of "who is knocking out whom." At one point, each of the two forces proposed to eliminate its rival. The fact that the electorate that supported the two political forces polarized to an amazing extent made things even more serious. Thus, a gap of suspicion was created, not only between the two political forces but also between the two electorates. This gap got broader when the nationalist-communist forces made an appearance on our political scene. The PDSR and Ion Iliescu did not have the power to rapidly detach themselves from these forces. Therefore, it seemed that the communist-nationalists were talking in the name of the PDSR and Ion Iliescu. As a result of it, the violent nature of the nationalist- communist attacks was perceived by the opposition as coming from the PDSR and Ion Iliescu. One can not easily overcome this gap. This was admitted also by one of the PNTCD leaders at the end of the first round of talks with the PDSR when he said that there is a difficult psychological threshold to cross. This psychological threshold belongs not only to the opposition but also to its electorate. It is extremely difficult to convince your supporters that it is possible to negotiate with the PDSR and with Ion Iliescu, when after for years on end you told them that the PDSR is a neo-communist party and Ion Iliescu must be removed. However, reasoning in this way, it was still a mistake to start a dialogue. It would have been much better if, in a first stage, secret contacts would have been made, far from the eyes of the public. Some compromise could have been reached, without the sides having their own electorate breathing down their necks. Likewise, the rapprochement between the PDSR and the opposition should have started through temporary alliances, discussions, and the voting of certain laws that would have been convenient both for the moderate wing of the PDSR and the opposition. Thus, a psychological ground would have been prepared for the opening of an official dialogue. Since this is not the way things were done, the shock of change of atmosphere between the two political forces was strong enough to make the two electorates apprehensive and to make the personal vanity and interests come out in the forefront.

B. The confusion that continues to prevail within the ruling party. It is clear that the reason for opening the dialogue was the presence of a reformist group within the PDSR. This group is aware of the internal and external danger posed by an alliance with the nationalist-communist forces. Therefore, through victory over the whole conservative majority, this group forced the whole party to get closer to the CDR and distance itself from the nationalist- communist forces. However, this reformist group is a minority group within the PDSR. Apart from being a minority group, it mainly includes opportunist politicians, who are ready to do everything in order to stay in power. Thus, the opening of a dialogue with the opposition took place under difficult circumstances for the reformist group. It would have been normal for this group to definitively win in the party and put the conservative majority to its place. There would even have been a chance for a part of the conservative group to move toward the left-wing parties. Not being able to win within the party, the reformist group saw in the opening of a dialogue with the opposition an opportunity to strengthen its position within the PDSR. Thus, the opening of the dialogue did not take place prior to some clarifications in the government party. The reformist group did not consider the opening of the dialogue as the final stage in the process of clarifications, but as a beginning of such a process. Thus, the reformist group was compelled to hold negotiations with the opposition while extreme pressure was being put on it by the conservative majority, and through this majority by the whole PDSR. It is easy to understand that, in such a situation, the reformist group had small room for maneuver when it came to accepting certain compromise with the opposition. That is the reason for the sudden rigid position adopted by the PDSR during the negotiations and for that party's apprehension that its move closer to the opposition should not lead to the definitive breach with nationalist-communist forces. It is more than certain that any spectacular modification of the PDSR policy would have caused the split of the party.

Being apprehensive about the policy promoted by the reformist group, the conservatives would have filled the ranks of the PRM, the PSM, and the PUNR. The reformist group would have faced the risk of losing everything. On the one hand, because of the psychological gap, the negotiations with the opposition would have been dragged in time, while on the other hand the PDSR would have lost its parliamentary majority. Likewise, taking into consideration the opportunism of certain leaders of the reformist group, it is easy to understand that, at one point, they were afraid of the dialogue. The

government reshuffle was the signal that finally this group gave in. It returned to the previously occupied positions, that is, a minority position, compared with the majority of PDSR members and the supporters of that party.

C. The lack of a strong left wing. As I have already written, the PDSR and the CDR cannot establish an alliance except when a new disturbing common adversary makes its appearance. This adversary is none else than the a possible PSM, PRM, PUNR, and PDAR alliance against the PDSR. However, these parties are still rather weak and do not dare rise against the strong protector of the PDSR, namely Ion Iliescu. Therefore, their recent attempt to detach themselves from the PDSR, an attempt that was expressed in the PRM leadership's letter, was quite flimsy. At the first signs of anger showed by the PDSR and Ion Iliescu, the left-wing allies rapidly calmed down. Pretending to be satisfied that the reshuffle has solved their interests, the PRM, the PSM, the PUNR, and the PDAR returned to their previously set condition: to humiliate the satellites of the ruling party. Since the PDSR did not have a firm and unfailing response to its allies, it would have been a mistake if it insisted to departing from the left wing and come closer to the right wing. No matter how discrediting they are, these allies are still preferable to the opposition. They are pleased with small measures, while the opposition wants almost everything. The common adversary of the PDSR and the CDR has not made its appearance yet. It is still to be seen whether it is able to appear soon.

Two British Soldiers Wounded in Serb Shelling

LD2503104094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Two British soldiers have been wounded in the Serb shelling of Bugojno, a British UN forces spokesman in Bugojno has announced. Around 0630 this morning, Serb artillery fired a number of shells on Bugojno, one of which hit the local UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] base.

Serb artillery shelled Travnik throughout the night. The [Croatian Defense Council] Stjepan Tomasevic brigade has said that Serb artillery was intensely shelling Muslim parts of Travnik.

The cease-fire has been observed by the Croat and the Muslim sides.

Srpska President Karadzic Addresses Assembly

LD2403210794 Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] As we said in the headlines, the 39th session of the people's assembly of the Srpska republic began in Pale today to define a platform for the continuation of negotiations in the light of the newly created circumstances following the signing of the Croat-Muslim agreement and enabling Turkey to send its troops to the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. An address on the current international situation in the light of the Geneva negotiations was delivered by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic. Here is a report by [name indistinct]:

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct] On the ground the situation is characterized by Muslim attacks on our positions and the stage-managing of bloody incidents in Sarajevo, the most tragic of which took place in Markale, and which has already been proven to have been perpetrated by the Muslim side. However, this incident was one of the heaviest blows on us by the international community because the blame was put on us as usual, Karadzic said, adding:

[Karadzic] "On 6 February this year [passage indistinct]. Both sides were to hand in their heavy weapons—Sarajevo was thus to be taken off from the world headlines, as the Muslim side in Sarajevo heavily used it for its propaganda against us.

"As you know, on 9 February the ultimatum was issued, which more or less contained what we had agreed with Mr. Akashi, and so we adjusted our actions to be exclusively in accordance with the agreement with Mr. Akashi. However, there was no firm will to withdraw the weapons or partly to place them under control, because our agreement with Akashi did not set that out. However, the international community assessed—maybe Russia did it on its own or in cooperation with others—that a dangerous moment came as the Serbs had not withdrawn their weapons seven days prior to the expiration of the ultimatum, and that NATO would inevitably strike [passage indistinct] and that it would be good to make a compromise with the Serbs. A compromise was made when Churkin arrived bringing a message from President Yeltsin to President Milosevic and to us here saying that the Russians were guaranteeing the cease-fire, and we then reached a situation whereby we could accept that proposal. Thus, in addition to the United States, we ushered Russia and Russian diplomacy through a wide-open door to the resolution of that problem. You know what happened afterwards.

"After the ultimatum—which is the ultimate form of pressure, the worst pressure, the hardest threat—U.S. diplomats came to us. The ultimatum may have been in the service of opening a door [word indistinct] success for the U.S. diplomacy. And the U.S. diplomacy, as the United States is biased first to the benefit of the Muslims and then of the Croats, started working with the Muslims and the Croats. Back on 9 and 10 February we were informed in Geneva by Mr. Redman, the U.S. envoy [passage indistinct] because of our entire history in 20th century and then we thought that this was a solution.

"The difficulties that arose in connection with a European Union proposal on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three parts started being overcome as a possibility to divide Bosnia into two parts emerged. We had earlier heard some presumptions in the European circles about Bosnia-Herzegovina being divided into two parts in several options: one option was this—that the Croats and Muslims should unite into one state with the Serbs remaining in another one. The second option was that the Muslims should go with the Serbs and set up a Serb-Muslim state, i.e., some kind of a state, or to join Yugoslavia, and the third option was that Bosnia should be divided between the Serbs and the Croats, because of some tendencies in the Tuzla basin to join Yugoslavia, while in Zenica (?and Cazin) there were tendencies to join Croatia. That option would not have been favorable for the Muslims, neither were we crazy about this option, as we deem that the antagonizing of our ethnic communities would have continued. There were some other options of division into two states.

"Considering the new campaign and partial military successes by the Muslim side, there was the danger that Croats might lose all their territory, which was not in our interest, despite the fact that we have been enemies almost throughout the 20th century. We believe that we should reach a solution satisfactory for all three nations, and only such a solution can be lasting and stable. A solution which would possibly harm Serbs or Croats would be particularly unfavorable, because the basis of the stability in the Balkans is in the relations between Serbs and Croats.

"Realistically, and from a political point of view, that is a signature of two sovereign nations and their legitimate

representatives which regulates the life of those national communities in their territories. Therefore, that signature has suspended any kind of Bosnia-Herzegovina—a unitary one, a union or any kind of [word indistinct]. Simply, from the legal and political point of view, since the signing, Bosnia-Herzegovina has been in the status [word indistinct]; Bosnia-Herzegovina is now material from which everyone makes what they believe they should and can make."

[Correspondent] Meanwhile, we have strengthened our relations with Russian diplomacy. [Bosnian Serb] Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha visited Russia. Our delegation stayed in Russia for three days. We had a meeting with Churkin, worked on the possibilities of opening Tuzla airport and on the resolution France insisted on for Sarajevo. The results are obvious, by the mere fact that the resolution became acceptable for us, that is, less unacceptable than it was. Karadzic had the following to say about the current positions:

[Karadzic] "As far as the conference is concerned, we have been bypassed, not to say expelled, or left behind like orphans. They met there and are now creating their own state. But for us, this has more good than bad sides: we do not have to accept what we did not take part in preparing, we do not have to join it in this form. We can open up a completely new process of negotiating as the situation created by the signing is completely new to us.

"Nobody has the right nor can call on us to join, as we are not a nation to be attached, we are just as much sovereign as the Croats and the Muslims are. They have to recognize the same rights to us, the same rights that they have given themselves. And [word indistinct] documents that Mr. [name indistinct] mentioned as being a base for their (?setting up), that is the sovereign right and the state-building right of those two nations."

[Correspondent] Karadzic then warned that the European Union [EU] promised to lift the sanctions to reward the willingness to cooperate and concessions given by the Serb side. However, the European Union has not fulfilled this. In connection with the future of the peace process, i.e. the continuation of peace negotiations Karadzic said:

[Karadzic] "We are in a situation whereby we shall continue negotiations although Resolution 820 is still in force; this resolution is exclusively in connection with our rejection of the Vance-Owen plan. The acceptance of the EU plan in two different forms has not made anyone think about suspending Resolution 820. That is a resolution that is strangling the Serb people, strangling entire Yugoslavia and [words indistinct], all the documents, oil for humanitarian purposes, and so on.

"We have to decide whether we shall join any kind of conference that was prepared without us, whose official documents were examined, prepared and adopted by the two sides in our complete absence. Then, decide whether we shall join any international conference if the international community does not make some goodwill gestures and recognize the Serb willingness to cooperate. We are not asking them to abolish the sanctions and say that Serbia is not guilty, although it is clear to the entire world now that Serbia is not to blame. But we want them at least to fulfill their basic promises, i.e. comply with agreements which forced us to make some political and territorial concessions. We are not asking them to make a final judgement about the inadequacy of the sanctions, that Serbia is not to blame, that it is not responsible and is not involved in fighting. We are asking for a practical approach to the Serbs in their carrot-and-stick policy. In one hand they are holding a [word indistinct], in another one a stick. We are wondering what they are offering the Serbs. In both hands they are holding a stick. If they had three hands they would be holding three sticks."

[Correspondent] In this report, we would like to single out one more segment from President Karadzic's address. It refers to a decision by the United Nations Security Council providing for the deployment of Turkish troops in Bosnia:

[Karadzic] "The latest decision by a committee granting the right to the Secretary General to accept Turkish troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina is leading us to believe that a big Balkan conflict is being prepared. If this conflict becomes necessary to the international players, full conditions for a big Balkan war will be created by the deployment of the Turkish troops. We are calling on the Secretary General never to invite a neighboring country, no country—former occupier—to deploy their troops here neither as observers, technicians, such as technicians [passage indistinct].

"Reasons of good taste should guide the German Government to keep its hands away from the remainder of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The greater German state policy and diplomacy have left their fingerprints all over the ruins of Yugoslavia. The history will show it, Germany is to blame and is responsible for the redefining of the outcome of World War II. Let it be the concern for Britain and France, for Slovenia and Croatia, that again came under the German influence and which enabled Germany to win World War II at the negotiating table. Our concern is that this should not refer to us. We won World War II, we have won this war, and we want Germany to stay away from us.

"Now to speak about Turkey. If Turkish troops are deployed, even if in our neighboring country—the Muslim-Croat federation—we will then demand that the Yugoslav troops, troops of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as a UN member and as a neighboring country, be deployed on our side."

Urges Assembly Not To Join Federation

AU2403200094 Paris AFP in English 1945 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, March 24 (AFP)—Radovan Karadzic urged the Bosnian Serbs' self-styled parliament not to

sign on to a new Croat-Moslem federation agreement but refused to rule out other kinds of ties with the entity.

Speaking in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale near Sarajevo, the Bosnian Serb leader urged the lawmakers "to reject out of hand all participation in the new Croat-Moslem federation."

But he said he "did not rule out the possibility of establishing various types of ties with the newly created state, but not federal ties."

An agreement to create the federation was signed last Friday in Washington by Bosnian Croat and Moslem leaders. It is designed to put pressure on the Serbs, who control most of Bosnia after nearly two years of war, to end the fighting.

Karadzic said the Bosnian Serbs wanted "a sovereign and independent state" and would consider at some point in the future their relations with the former Yugoslav republics.

He said he was willing to recognize the new federation "so long as the Serbs obtain access to the sea." This was seen as signaling willingness to give up conquered land.

The United States and Russia have been trying to get the Bosnian Serbs to join up with the new federation as a way of maintaining Bosnia as something resembling a unified state. The federation is currently designed to cover half of Bosnia's land, but the Serbs control around 70 percent of the republic's territory.

Warning on Troops Highlighted

LD2403194094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 24 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 24 (TANJUG)—The president of the Bosnian Serb Republic (RS), Radovan Karadzic warned on Thursday that the decision to deploy Turkish U.N. troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina would create conditions for a major Balkan war.

Karadzic told a RS parliamentary session in Pale, RS political centre close to Sarajevo, that if Turkish soldiers are sent to the Moslem-Croat state in Bosnia, the Bosnian Serbs would demand that in its territory are deployed the troops of the neighbouring Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a U.N. member, said Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA.

The United Nations has so far operated on the principle not to deploy troops of neighbouring countries and earlier occupiers in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

The region of Bosnia-Herzegovina was for 500 years (until the beginning of the 20th century) under Turkish occupation, and this is still vivid in the memories of the Bosnian population, especially the Serbs.

However, the U.N. Security Council on Wednesday gave the go-ahead to a proposal by the secretary-general that Turkish peacekeepers be deployed in Bosnia and passed on the final decision to Butrus-Ghali.

The latest reports from the U.N. New York headquarters are that the Turkish U.N. contigent should be deployed along the separation lines between the Bosnian Moslems and Croats, who succumbed to strong U.S. pressure last week and signed an accord on setting up their federation in Bosnia.

Karadzic informed the parliamentary session about the outcome of the peace talks on Bosnia held so far and the proposal to determine a new platform for their continuation.

Karadzic suggested to the deputies to adopt a platform which would include a demand for establishing peace, just territorial delimitation, the rejection of the Serb participation in the Moslem-Croat federation and which would insist on the Serbs' right to self-determination.

Serbs Rule Out Joining Croat-Muslim Federation

LD2403181294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—The deputies of the People's Assembly of the Srpska republic today adopted a report on the course of the Geneva talks and the Serb delegation's stances on the negotiations.

The conclusions are that the platform on future talks remains the same and that any possibility of the Srpska republic joining the Croat-Muslim federation is ruled out. However, the possibility of forming links with the newly created entities remains open, but only after the strategic interests of the Serb nation are realized.

The session of the Srpska republic people's assembly resumed work at 1800 with discussion of internal policy. This part of the session is held behind closed doors.

Assembly Adopts Platform

LD2403214294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—This evening the assembly of the Srpska republic (RS) adopted a platform on the future activities of the RS delegation at the peace talks, in which it stressed that the RS could not join the Croat-Muslim Federation because no conditions existed for a joint state.

The platform stresses that the RS is asking the international community—before any peace talks take place—to meet its obligations toward Serbs regarding the suspension, i.e., abolition of sanctions.

The RS sees the Croat-Muslim Federation agreement and the agreement on a confederation with Croatia as the realization of the rights of these two nations to freely decide on their political and state status. At the same

time, the Assembly maintains that the creation of a new federation and its entering into a confederation with Croatia means a formal and legal suspension of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

By not being included in the talks, the RS has in fact been recognized as a state entity. The RS cannot join the Croat-Muslim Federation because conditions do not exist for a joint state, the platform stresses.

Since the new Croat-Muslim state can engage in hostile activities against the RS, the RS must—in the interest of lasting peace and stability in the region—secure just and defendable borders that will encompass Serb ethnic areas, the platform says, adding that when conditions for the continuation of talks are created the RS will maintain a stand that the negotiating process be conducted in stages.

The first stage is to conclude peace and freeze all military activities without prejudging territorial solutions or the nature of future interstate ties.

This would be followed by demarcation and the final establishment of borders between the Croat-Muslim Federation and the Srpska republic, and the recognition of the sovereignty and independence of the Srpska republic.

Talks on mutual relations between these states, together with the review of possibilities for the establishment of different ties between the newly created and former Yugoslav republics, would be the last stage.

The resolution of the crisis, it was said, should be guided by scientifically established facts about the Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and their territories, as well as by international documents on the creation of Yugoslavia.

The platform also proposes an alternative order of stages, as recognized by the international community—including the United States—when Yugoslavia was founded in 1919 [sentence as received].

In the first stage, apart from the already recognized Croat- Muslim Federation, the international community should also recognize the Srpska republic and leave territorial questions for some later date.

The second stage would be to resolve territorial issues peacefully, while the third would be to examine possible ties between the states.

Krajisnik Threatens Deployment of FRY Troops

AU2403153394 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's Army—to Bosnia!"]

[Text] "The roots of Serbhood are in Sarajevo, it is Serbian ethnic territory. The Muslims are probably counting on the time when they will again mix Serbs and Muslim, thus making Sarajevo theirs. But that will not be accepted.

"I believe in the possibility of Sarajevo one day becoming a unified city, but it will not belong to the Muslims, but to the Srpska republic," claims Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Srpska republic assembly, in an interview for SVET. "We will never agree to the deployment of German or Turkish troops, because they are still in the service of imperialism. The Russian soldiers here can be compared to the troops from other Islamic countries [as published], against whom we have nothing—except for Turkey. If Turkey succeeds in pushing its proposal through the United Nations, we shall ask that Yugoslavia send its troops to Bosnia," says Krajisnik.

Karadzic Adviser Views Situation in Sarajevo

AU2403154094 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Mar 94 p 2

[Interview with Jovan Zametica, adviser to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, by Jozsef Szabo; place and date not given: "According to Karadzic, Territorial Concessions Cannot Be Made"]

[Text] *The Bosnian Serbs consider joining the Bosnian-Croatian confederation to be impossible. Jovan Zametica, adviser to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, gave an interview to NEPSZABADSAG on the new situation in the area.*

[Szabo] Why did the Serbs "accidentally" leave weapons at Sarajevo?

[Zametica] The weapons were not hidden, they did not even need to be discovered. The UN Blue Helmets had precise information on their location from before. The Serbs were not hiding these weapons. This is a case of different interpretations of the boundaries of the demilitarized zone around Sarajevo.

[Szabo] Where were these weapons?

[Zametica] According to the Serbian side, they were a few hundred meters outside the 20-kilometer limit of the demilitarized zone defined by the United Nations. The misunderstanding came from the fact that the Blue Helmets and the Serbs determined Sarajevo's center differently and marked the 20 kilometers from this point.

[Szabo] What will happen to the weapons?

[Zametica] We agreed with a general of the Blue Helmets that we would jointly define Sarajevo's center on the map and we will then measure the 20 kilometers from there. If Serbian heavy artillery happens to be in this area then we will withdraw it or place it under UN supervision.

[Szabo] What are your views on the Croatian-Bosnian agreement?

[Zametica] We have many reasons for caution when it comes to any kind of alliances between the Croatians and the Bosnians. It is their business if they want to live together, we have no say in this. Our only requirement is that their confederation must not cause any territorial or military damage to the Serbs.

[Szabo] Is it possible for the Serbs to also join this confederation?

[Zametica] The chance is minimal.

[Szabo] In this case, according to Moscow, you will have to make further territorial concessions.

[Zametica] At the peace talks, the Serbs have always made certain concessions. However, there is a limit after which we will not make any more concessions.

[Szabo] Where is this limit?

[Zametica] It is not easy to give exact percentages of the Serbian areas, although Karadzic recently said that he wants to keep 56 to 58 percent of Bosnia's territory. Our goal is to live in compact areas.

[Szabo] Nevertheless, you have recently been forced to make concessions.

[Zametica] Territorial concessions are out of the question. We have only removed our artillery from around Sarajevo. We did not make any concessions at Tuzla, either; we agreed to opening the airport under certain conditions, but this has not yet happened. The UN plane was able to land on 22 March with our agreement. Talks are still underway on opening the airport. We will not let ourselves be excluded from the supervision. We did not make any territorial concessions at Maglaj, either, we only agreed to the delivery of aid to the city. To the outsider it may seem that we are making territorial concessions, but what we are trying to do is to facilitate an overall Bosnian peace agreement through compromises.

Serbs Continue To Violate Truce in Sarajevo

AU2403193194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Sead Cusovic report from the Information Service of the 1st Army Corps]

[Text] The day today fully resembles all the previous days, because the aggressor has continued violating the cease-fire as he has done since the conclusion of the agreement. So, at about 1700, one of our fellow citizens was wounded in Brijesce. She was attacked with a sower of death [M-84 machine gun] from the direction of Bacici.

Chetnik provocations with infantry weapons were also registered in the regions of Glavica, Brekin Potok, and Hotonj. Cumulative mortars were used near Vrbanja Most. Stup was attacked with portable mortars from the enemy positions.

The so-called cease-fire should therefore not instill too much certainty to the residents of Sarajevo. They are advised to continue exercising caution.

Serbs Continue Attacks; Croat-Muslim Lines Quiet

LD2403152794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] [Announcer] The separation lines between the Croat Defense Council [HVO] and Muslim formations are quiet. Since this morning, however, Serb artillery has been attacking the Muslim-controlled part of Novi Travnik. Zdenko Vranjes reports in more detail.

[Vranjes] This morning Serb artillery attacked the Muslim-controlled part of Novi Travnik. Fierce artillery clashes between the Serb and the Muslim forces are still raging. According to this town's people, the separation lines between the HVO and the Muslim army are absolutely quiet.

Mostar is also quiet. Last night there were some isolated provocations from infantry weapons in the town center. In Uskoplje [Gornji Vakuf] Muslim and Croat representatives are today discussing the further exchange of POW's in keeping with the all-for-all principle. The exchange of POW's from central Bosnia remains to be carried out.

Until the next elections the Croatian Democratic Union [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica] of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the only legal representative of Croat interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croat National Council from Sarajevo or any other minority group of Croat deputies has no right to act on behalf of all Croat deputies and the entire Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] said in its statement today.

Attacks on Brcko Defense Lines Continue

AU2403153194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Report by Hamid Deronjic and Nihad Culihovic]

[Excerpt] The shelling of the central section of the Brcko defense, which has been pounded with tanks and 120-mm mortars since 0630, has in the meantime been stepped up with fire from 122-mm howitzers, mortars of [word indistinct] and 82-mm, [word indistinct] and recoilless guns. Chetnik antiaircraft guns, brownings, portable mortars, and snipers are attacking almost all parts of our defense. There have been no infantry attacks yet, which clearly indicates what the real aim of the Serbian aggressor is, namely to destroy as much as it can and to kill as many people as possible on the free territory. [passage omitted]

Attacks Continue in Bihac, Cazin Regions

AU2503103994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic]

[Text] The activities of the Serbian aggressor in Bihac district continued throughout the day yesterday. [Words indistinct] the Bihac part of the front and the Grmusko-Srbljanski Plateau were under constant attacks from mortars and antiaircraft arms. In the zone of responsibility of the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council of the region, the terrorist [words indistinct] especially in (Pljesavica) part and in the part of [word indistinct].

They have been attacking the Bihac and Cazin districts at irregular intervals so far.

On the separating lines with the paramilitary formations of the so-called Velika Kladusa autonomists [words indistinct]. In its bestial mission, the Abdic's army last night continued to destroy and set fire to residential and other kinds of installations in [word indistinct] regions, Krivaja, Zdenkovici, Selimovici, Bocici, and (Hadzici).

Beside the attacks that lasted throughout the night, which were substantially assisted by the chetniks, regrouping has been noted in the area of Liskovac and Stulici and we therefore expect new attacks and [words indistinct]. According to incomplete reports, some 200 families have been exiled from these areas.

The situation in the district is increasingly more difficult. The promised corridor via (Petrov Licki Dol) still has not been opened, the humanitarian situation is also growing increasingly more difficult, and the spring sowing is also in question [words indistinct].

'Significant' Serb Losses Near Rujnica

AU2403192694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Viktor Boban reports from the Press Center of the Bosna Operations Group that the fierce shelling by the aggressor killed one and wounded two civilians.

[Boban] The enemy is still trying to breach the defense lines on the Rujnica front. All their attempts hitherto have been thwarted. In some sectors the defenders launched attacks themselves. In the fighting, which is still in progress, the Serbian aggressor has suffered significant losses in manpower, more than 15 were killed and many more put out of action.

Considering the ferocity of the chetnik attacks, new attempts to breach the defense lines should be expected. The soldiers and officers of the Bosna Operations Group are ready to protect their positions.

Sarajevo Radio Rounds Up Combat Situation

AU2403161794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] After fierce chetnik attacks and after yet another attempt by the aggressor forces to make further advances, a general danger alarm was sounded in Zavidovici. The chetnik advance was nevertheless halted by a successful counteroffensive by our fighters.

The usual chetnik provocations also continued on the free territory of Zvornik. However, demonstrating their courage, our defenders have again been very successful. Today, the enemy also pounded the city center of Olovo and the positions of our defenders. Like all other attempts by the aggressor to breach the lines of our defense, this one was also unsuccessful.

This morning, the chetniks opened sniper fire on Kasindol street from the Bosut Barracks. The aggressor attacked Dobrinja with infantry weapons from Nedjarici. Stup was attacked with bombs fired from portable mortars. This was reported by the Information Service of the 1st Army Corps.

The ferocity of the chetnik attacks in the zone of operations of the 3d Army Corps was offset by the defenders-members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, inflicting great losses on them in manpower and equipment. They are also liberating parts of occupied territories. Since it cannot do anything else, the aggressor is shelling villages, towns, and the civilian population. There have been no violations of the cease-fire agreement reached by the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in this region. The truce is generally holding at other lines of separation.

In line with the agreement reached the day before yesterday by the negotiating teams of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the aggressor side, and the representatives of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], three prisoners held by the aggressor soldiers in Silos prison in (?Tarcin) were exchanged for three civilians from Kula prison.

The process of exchanging prisoners is the first and the most controversial point in the Silajdzic-Krajisnik negotiations. The realization of other points from this agreement did not take place because of the lack of cooperation by the aggressor side. So, the issue of Silos and the 189 missing Bosniaks, who, according to their families, were taken by the terrorist chetnik forces to an unknown destination, remains unresolved.

Serb Treatment of UNHCR Drivers Detailed

AU2403170894 Paris AFP in English 1653 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Zagreb, March 24 (AFP)—Ten Danish drivers were lined up against a wall and "feared that they would be shot" after their relief trucks were stolen by Bosnian

Serb soldiers near the northern Bosnian town of Maglaj, a UN spokesman said here Thursday. Later they were forced to walk for about a kilometre through no-man's-land between Bosnian Serb and Croat forces, before being taken to a UN Protection Force post by Croats. After the theft of their vehicles, the drivers were loaded into a lorry and taken towards the nearby front line, UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] spokesman Peter Kessler said. "They were then lined up in front of a house. At this point it became very, very terrifying for them," he said. "They were told to empty their pockets, to give their belongings to the Bosnian Serbs. When they saw their personal property being thrown on the ground they then feared that they would be shot." After being searched the UNHCR drivers were told to walk on their own to a minefield, holding white flags over their heads and to look out for snipers as it was no-man's-land. It was only after walking about a kilometre they located a post manned by Bosnian Croat HVO [Croatian Defense Council] forces at Zepce, about 30 kilometres (20 miles) south of where they were abducted. The Croats drove the team to a UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] base. "The entire situation was terrifying for the convoy team," Kessler said.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic earlier Thursday told Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary-general's special envoy in former Yugoslavia, that the local Serb commander had acted without authorisation. He would be punished, Karadzic said, according to Kessler. The Serb leader also promised his forces would return the nine stolen UN aid-convoy trucks which have since been located.

Convoys would again start moving from the Croatian capital Zagreb to the Maglaj region once the United Nations obtained security guarantees, said UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski, adding that convoys were nevertheless still leaving from Zenica, in central Bosnia.

Martic: UN Must Not Be Occupying Force

LD2403185394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Knin, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], today sent a letter to Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy for the Russian president, in which he highlighted the issue of the Medak pocket.

Martic warned that six months after the withdrawal of Croatian forces, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] was still in control of the area around the villages of Citluk, Divoselo, and Pocitelj, prohibiting the local population from returning and banning access to the Krajina militia and authorities. [passage omitted]

"You have seen that this was one of the most difficult problems in the negotiations at your embassy in Zagreb, and that the planned cease-fire agreement was most probably not signed because of it," Martic underlined, adding that the reference point in this case should be the line of separation between the Serb and Croat ethnic communities established by the decision of the Geneva conference of 23 November 1991.

The RSK president believes that UNPROFOR should not be allowed to replace the Croatian Army in keeping territories under occupation—as is the case with the Medak pocket.

"The Medak pocket must be returned to Krajina and excluded as an issue in the negotiations between the Serb and Croat sides," Martic said, concluding that, if not, it will not make sense to continue the talks in Zagreb next Tuesday.

Foreign Minister Granic Discusses Negotiations

AU2403164594 Paris AFP in English 1620 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Helsinki, March 24 (AFP)—Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic expressed hope Thursday that negotiations with separatist Serbs in the disputed Krajina region in southern Croatia would lead to an overall ceasefire.

"I'm hopeful," Granic said at a brief press conference after talks with Finnish leaders. Granic also said Zagreb was ready to grant limited autonomy to Krajina Serbs but ruled out full "independence" as demanded by local Serbs.

The first round of negotiations between Croatian officials and Croatian Serb leaders in Zagreb were adjourned early Wednesday but the two sides agreed to meet again next week. The negotiations at the Russian Embassy were the first of its kind to be held in Zagreb under the auspices of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Granic, who arrived here Wednesday evening on a 24-hour visit, had talks Thursday with Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari, Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto, parliamentary speaker Riitta Uosukainen and the chairman of the parliamentary foreign affairs committee Pertti Paasio.

Granic said he had briefed Finnish leaders on the situation in his country and Croatian policy on the former Yugoslavia. Ahtisaari, who earlier this year was elected Finland's head of state, was himself involved last year in Yugoslavia peace talks in Geneva as a special representative of UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. Helsinki was the last leg of Granic's Nordic tour that also included stops in Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen.

Turkish Military Delegation Arrives for Talks

LD2303165794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 23 Mar 94

[Text] Skopje, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—A delegation of Turkey's general staff, headed by General Erol Kirisoglu, arrived on an official visit to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] today.

It has been announced that the Turkish delegation was received in Skopje by Defense Minister Vlado Popovski and Army Chief of Staff General Dragoljub Bocinov.

Further military cooperation between Turkey and Macedonia was discussed during the talks.

Gligorov Seeks EU Help in Dispute With Greece

LD2403190394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov has sent a letter to European Union [EU] President Jacques Delors warning that during recent weeks Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] has been left to face the Greek economic embargo and the hermetically closed borders with Greece alone. Gligorov stresses that this could result in a dramatic economic destabilization of Macedonia, and consequently of the overall situation in the region. The Macedonian president goes on to say that the EU must find a solution to this problem, and notes the EU's slowness, lack of determination and unequal treatment of the two sides. At the end of his letter to Jacques Delors, Gligorov stresses that if the problem with Athens is not solved, Macedonia will have to initiate a discussion of the Greek embargo in the Security Council.

Soros Donates $4 Million To Ease Embargo

AU2303155094 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 23 Mar 94 pp 1-2

[Report by Zaneta Skerlev: "$4 Million for Macedonia"]

[Text] Mr. George Soros, an eminent international businessman and founder of the Open Society Foundation, after talking to President of the Republic Kiro Gligorov and to representatives of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity] and PDP [Party of Democratic Prosperity] political parties, held a news conference yesterday in which he informed he was giving $4 million to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] in support of its efforts to cope with the embargo imposed by Greece.

He then emphasized that $2.5 million would be given as credit without interest for the provision of 20,000 metric tons of corn for cattle, and the remaining $1.5 million were a gift for the transport costs of the corn to Skopje. Mr. Soros announced that in the first 15 days of April this year he would finance the air bridge, that is he would cover half of the expenditures for air transport of early vegetables from Macedonia to Europe, since the air costs were twice as high as the land ones, too high to accept.

The goal of this gesture of Soros was, as he himself pointed out, to help the Macedonian Government in the difficulties it is having since the Greek blockade, but first of all—to turn the attention of the European and the world public, which must not let the country collapse or fall into the hands of extremists, neglecting the lessons of Bosnia and thus creating here a new hotbed of crisis with unpredictable consequences.

Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, who attended the beginning of the news conference with Soros, emphasized that Mr. Soros was ready to help Macedonia throughout the difficult times. "Even now," Gligorov said, "he immediately responded to my invitation and we had very fruitful discussions about the embargo and about what could be done to help Macedonia."

"I came to Macedonia because I am very much concerned about the fate of this country," Mr. Soros said, "because I think that whatever will happen with Macedonia is of great interest for Europe and the world."

"In this case," he said, "it is very easy to make a distinction—who is the aggressor and who is the victim. If this government breaks down because of an economic collapse, and if the extremists come, who, we know, are present on both sides, there will be a conflict in which many neighboring countries will undoubtedly be involved."

Mr. Soros also said that everything he pledges for in Macedonia in this situation is in danger. Therefore, he conveys an appeal to the European countries, to the United States, and to the other international factors to undertake concrete actions for assisting our country.

Answering journalists' questions, Soros said that the meetings he held yesterday with representatives of VMRO-DPMNE were carried out in a more moderate way than he had expected, taking into account the previous criticisms he had been exposed to by this party. Soros also said that he had not had any contacts with the Greek Government in relation to the loan to Macedonia, but he pointed out that he would give an interview to Greek Television, in which he would expose his stances. Concerning the question that NOVA MAKEDONIJA informed that he had conveyed a letter to Clinton in which he stated that the survival of Macedonia depended on how much rights the Government would give to the minorities, he said that his opinion was that the Macedonian Government was sincerely committed and dedicated to solving the rights of the minorities, but more should be done in that respect.

[Box, p 2]

"Inexperienced Diplomacy"

I hope President Gligorov will not be angry at me, but I have to say that he and his government were not successful enough in persuading the world about the dangers

Macedonia is faced with, as well as about the dangers that will come if the situation is not changed. Of course, Macedonia does not have great experience in diplomacy and in foreign relations. However, I say there is a lack of information about the situation in Macedonia and the attention of the world's mass media has not been sufficiently turned to this side.

Gligorov, de Lapresle on Success of UN Mission

AU2403161594 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 24 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "De Lapresle: UN Historic Role in Macedonia"]

[Text] Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov received commanding officer of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for former Yugoslavia General De Lapresle. They agreed UN peace keeping units in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] have completely justified their preventive mission and peace preserving role in Macedonia. They also pointed out the importance of preserving the peace in Macedonia for the stability in the Balkans. Following the talks with President Gligorov, General De Lapresle stated for the Macedonian Radio: "UN's mission in Macedonia has a historic character and, owing to President Gligorov's wisdom, they deployed peace keeping forces as prevention for a first time. I would like to express gratitude to UNPROFOR soldiers and their commanding officers, who are directly responsible for the success of the mission. I especially greet General Tellefsen of the Nordic Battalion, the U.S. contingent, all UN monitoring teams, and all civilian authorities. The contingent in Macedonia will remain multinational with units from all nations previously included. We are discussing only small changes to replace the Swedish contingent with adequate number of U.S. troops. In any case, we will not take into account decisions opposed to agreement between the United Nations and the country in question. I will personally do everything in my power for preserving of the peace in this region," General De Lapresle said.

President Gligorov Discusses Visit to Germany

AU1803161594 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 18 Mar 94 pp 1-2

[Report by J.M.: "Dialogue, but Only in a Basket"]

[Text] Last night Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov returned from a four-day working visit to Germany and issued the following statement at Skopje Airport:

"The visit functioned as a participation in a European forum where we had the opportunity of presenting our general policy and our views about Europe and the Balkans, about everything that has happened in the past two years, particularly after the Yugoslav crisis and the war in this region, and my opinion is that it was well accepted. Our stance coincides with the deliberations of different circles in Europe concerning the future actions to be undertaken with the aim of having a united Europe one day, when all the states will have their opportunity according to how they are prepared, internally and externally, to join such a union.

"The goal of the visit was to realize various contacts with high-ranking German politicians and my opinion is that it was done in the proper time, having in mind the embargo of our southern neighbor and all the consequences emerging from it inside the community itself. At the same time, we transmitted our views about the situation here and about the way we view the solution for the problems we have with the Republic of Greece. Not a single interlocutor could find an excuse for the measures undertaken by Greece against Macedonia, and on the other hand, it was very important that I had the opportunity of expressing our readiness for further discussions. We have hitherto also emphasized that we are ready to talk about all questions, but we also stressed that we could have no discussions if all the basket was not put on the agenda, in order not to leave anything unclarified that could tomorrow serve as a reason for misunderstandings or new embargoes."

Asked about the meeting and the discussions with Mr. Van den Broek, President Gligorov replied: "The meeting occurred at his request and we had long discussions about the ways out of this situation. I underlined that the basic issue was how Europe would find a solution for the embargo, because our stance is that it is not just a problem of the Macedonian-Greek border, but it refers to a part of the border of the European Union. Therefore, the responsibility of the European Union is also involved in this problem, because it is not a bilateral, but a unilateral act of a state. My opinion is that there were no differences in the stances, however we talked a lot about the possible modalities, but without reaching a firm stance on how to get out of that situation."

PDP Chairman Xhaferri Asks For Support

AU2003154694 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 19 Mar 94

[Text] Arber Xhaferri, chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], called on Albanian intellectuals, political parties, and institutions to become engaged in the realization of demands of Albanians in Macedonia.

Addressing more than 500 people in Diber who are members and sympathizers of this party, Arber Xhaferri stressed that the former leadership of the party, together with deputies and ministers, has done almost nothing to realize the goals defined in the party program. The influence of Albanians in the state structures in Macedonia, as well as in the political, economic, security, education, and so forth, power structures, does not exist

at all. As an example of this, the PDP chairman mentioned the grave situation that exists in the educational field, stressing that whereas in 1980 there were nine gymnasiums in Macedonia and 30 professional high schools, in 1992 these figures were reduced to five, thus marking a continuous decrease.

We are now in a phase of reorganizing the party and our ranks, Arber Xhaferri said later, stressing that now is the time we ask the support of Albanian intellectuals,political parties, and institutions to fulfill our demands. He stressed that Albanians in Macedonia should never cease to be state-forming elements and have their own special institutions.

PDP Protests Media Bias in Arms Affair

AU2203092094 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 21 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "International Committee for Arrested Albanians"]

[Text] The Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] issued a public announcement saying the occasional actualising of the so-called "arms affair" is a continuation of attempts to publicly discredit PDP, its parliament group, and the Albanian ministers in the government, thus presenting them before the international community as ultranationalists, terrorists, and forces intending to introduce instability in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. All this is done by some government bodies in collaboration with other forces from abroad.

The more frequent one-sided and false presentation of PDP's activities and its political mechanism in part of the Macedonian media is just a part of such a propaganda.

In order to completely clarify certain dilemmas about the involvement of some political figures in the so-called "arms affair," PDP will request from authorised international institutions to form an international committee to deal with the case.

Demands for Release of Albanians Considered

AU2303111994 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 22 Mar 94 p 4

[Commentary by B. Geroski: "Symptomatic Exclusivity"]

[Text] The interrupted session of the communal assembly is expected to be resumed in Tetovo today, when the board members will discuss the recent arrests of four citizens of Albanian nationality who were caught with a considerable quantity of firearms. The PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] and the NDP [People's Democratic Party] link this case to the "paramilitary army" affair and demand the release of those arrested, as well as the liberation of the group accused of creating paramilitary formations.

Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski's attempt to persuade the Tetovo board members at the first (interrupted) session that the latest arrests had nothing to do with the affair, and thus had no political background, was obviously inadequate. Today, the Justice and Administration Minister, Tuse Gosev, is expected in Tetovo. However, it is still an open question whether the new round of pressure will produce any results.

According to the latest information of the PDP and NDP, and the Democratic Forum for Protection of Human Freedoms and Rights in Macedonia, located in Gostivar, any serious discussion of the case was undermined from the outset. That is, the leading political formations of the Albanians in Macedonia saw the latest arrests as factor in the affair, as an attempt to discredit the PDP, as a manipulated political process, an organized action against the Albanians, as a great provocation, and so on. Since the event has been characterized in such political terms, one can expect that today's discussion between the Tetovo board members and the representatives of the executive authority will develop into a discussion between the deaf.

The case of those arrested in Tetovo (four) and Gostivar (two) is clean, at least as far as concerns the police. They are all accused under Article 218 of the Macedonian Criminal Code—the carrying of arms and explosives is prohibited. The Tetovo group was, for instance, caught with 28 firearms (automatic rifles) and 10 bombs. Nonetheless, the straight description of the deed refers to data in which the authorities do not link it with the "paramilitary soldiers." Therein lies the dilemma—why do the PDP and NDP do so?

We can to some extent understand the strength of feeling in the political representative body of Albanians in Macedonia, and the fact that all cases are seen through the prism of the PDP's internal party conflicts. However, does this mean that arms smugglers will no longer be affected by law if they are Albanians because they might be connected with the "paramilitary army" affair? Can anybody in this state be granted such an exclusive position? Finally, is it permissible to ask for Macedonian state bodies (administration) to be substituted with an international commission, not to allow for the possible monitoring of the events in the "paramilitary army" affair (which could be accepted), but for "clarifying the case"?

Government Adopts Laws on Parties, Elections

AU2203162994 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 22 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Electoral Package-Law Adopted"]

[Text] During a yesterday session, the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]

Government adopted the package-law on elections. They discussed and determined the proposed law on electing president of the country. This law states the country's president will be elected during general, direct, and secret voting, for a 5-year mandate. It will take a group of at least 10,000 voters or 30 parliament deputies to nominate a presidential candidate. If no candidate gets the necessary majority of votes in the first rounds of election, the second round will include the two candidates with biggest number of votes from the first round.

The Government also adopted the proposal on changes in the law on appointing and replacing parliament deputies and committee members. The Macedonian Parliament will be consisted of 140 deputies. 120 of them will be elected by the majority principle, and the remaining one by the proportionate one. The number of members in township committees will be determined by a Statute. The news in this law is that the second round of elections will include only candidates who have gotten at least 12 percent of the total number of voters in the first round.

Government members also adopted the proposed law on political parties, regulating procedure and conditions for founding, registering and ceasing to exist of political parties. The law allows no registering of parties with a program, statute, or activities aimed to forcefully overthrow the government, urging or calling to military aggression, and introducing religious, national, or racial hatred or intolerance.

The package of laws is expected to appear on the parliament agenda during its 74th session, announced for March 29.

Optimistic Trends Seen in Inflation Rate

AU2303151794 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 23 Mar 94 p 3

[Report by V.M.B.: "Inflation Is Losing Breath"]

[Text] What can be said for sure is that slowly but surely, matters are moving toward the better, at least as far as the bogeyman called inflation and the stampede of the denar's exchange rate is concerned. Inflation, at least according to last month's indicators, is slowly easing. The rate is not only at a nearly complete standstill, but the black market, as an indicator of all the movements in the country, is slowly losing its breath.

After the January shock, when a 22-percent inflation came to light, which did not coincide with what had been planned in the Government Stabilization Program (to have an inflation below 10 percent in the first months, around 5 percent in the middle of the year, and around 3 percent at the end), the dose of optimism that matters would start improving returned the figures of the last month's rate of inflation to around 6 percent, which is only 0.8 percent over the plan. According to the announcements of statisticians, the fall of inflation will be even greater in the next months, certainly if some unpredictable disturbances don't occur. Thus, an inflation of only 2.5 percent is foreseen for July, which will fulfill the plans—to reduce last year's inflation rate of 300 percent to an annual level of 70 percent!

If this becomes our reality, we shall finally take a break in the race with inflation that we have felt in the past months of this year, concerning the exchange rate of the domestic currency. The exchange rate, the official one, according to the information we got from the Macedonian National Bank, is real, and the black market exchange rate is on almost the same level.

Taking into consideration its stability, as Dusanka Hristova, general manager of the sector for foreign currency system and policy of the Macedonian National Bank said, the Central Bank has not intervened at all in the foreign currency market this year with the aim of maintaining the rate. Since the official and black market rates are close, according to what Hristova said, the number of those purchasing foreign currency on the street is smaller, and on the other hand, the inflow of foreign currency from authorized exchange bureaus has been increased.

That is certainly one of the reasons for the fact that the black market is losing its breath, and it influences the decrease of money circulation, according to the planned proportions adjusted to the International Monetary Fund.

Drnovsek Seeks Replacement of Defense Minister

LD2503042094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0058 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Ljubljana, March 24 (TANJUG)—Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek has asked parliament to replace Defence Minister Janez Jansa. In a statement for the public released on Thursday, Drnovsek accused the defence minister of overstepping his authority and violating the republican constitution and elementary human rights.

Political circles in Ljubljana have indicated that Minister Jansa might resort to repressive protection of his office, in which, as assessed, he would have the support of part of the military leadership. The Slovenian police raised the degree of alert of its force on Thursday evening.

Jansa is the idol of the Slovenian extreme nationalist right and, as his followers often point out, most deserving for Slovenia's independence which followed a clash with the former Yugoslav People's Army.

Several parties, associations, groups of citizens and individuals have demanded the defence minister's resignation over the past few days.

Further on Replacement Request

AU2403215594 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] In a letter he sent today, Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek informed the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia that he had sent the State Chamber his proposal on the replacement of Defense Minister Janez Jansa. Namely, the government commission investigating into the Smolnikar case has established that members of the Defense Ministry have overstepped their powers. Therefore, the defense minister must take responsibility for that activity. According to Drnovsek, permitting such activity would mean deviating from the rule of law. The prime minister suggests that the Social Democratic Party should continue participating in the government coalition.

Suggests Kacin as Replacement

AU2403213094 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] In a letter to Herman Rigelnik, chairman of the State Chamber, Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek proposed that the State Chamber should relieve Janez Jansa of his duties as minister of defense on the basis of Article 112 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and Article 19 of the Law on Government of the Republic of Slovenia. The prime minister suggests that the State Chamber appoint Jelko Kacin as minister of defense. Prime Minister Drnovsek also suggested that the release of duty and appointment be carried out as soon as possible.

Jansa Protests Dismissal

AU2503093894 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Janez Jansa, president of the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, said in an open letter to Prime Minister Drnovsek that he has received his letter concerning his replacement as defense minister.

Janez Jansa rebukes Prime Minister Drnovsek as the government commission that was investigating the Smolnikar case did not study all the necessary material. He also asks Janez Drnovsek how the government has acted in other cases in which there has been an overstepping of authority.

According to him, the prime minister proposed the replacement before the meeting of the parliamentary inquiry commission and in the midst of a media lynching. Jansa believes that Drnovsek, in this way, prevented the investigation into the background of unlawful activities in which individuals and groups have engaged for months.

The Presidency of the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia will discuss this issue tomorrow.

Christian Democrats Comment

AU2503094594 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] The Executive Council of the Slovene Christian Democrats, in a statement for the public, condemned any sort of use of violence in the fulfillment of political and ideological goals.

The Slovene Christian Democrats, therefore, call upon all those who have violated fundamental moral and ethical principles to leave the Slovene political scene.

As the second most powerful parliamentary party, the Christian Democrats wish to contribute toward appeasement, stability, and progress, because divisions cannot be the guiding star of the young Slovene state, which was also confirmed by the incident in Depala Vas and recent statements by President Milan Kucan in Nova Gorica.

In cases of abuse of power, the Christian Democrats also expect the resignation of incumbent ministers.

If it transpires that the president of the republic has also been involved in the recent events, the Christian Democrats will demand his resignation, too.

Kucan Views Peace Process in Balkan Crisis

AU2503101494 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2108 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Interview with President Milan Kucan by Robert Hochner in the ORF studio in Vienna—recorded; Kucan speaks in Slovene with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Hochner] Good evening, Mr. President.

[Kucan] Good evening.

[Hochner] Mr. President, only 40 km south of your country a war is still going on, even though now there appear to be signs of a peaceful solution for Bosnia. How optimistic are you that what now looks like the beginning of a peace settlement will bring real peace to Bosnia?

[Kucan] We have to be optimists. What is currently going on is still a consequence of the exhaustion caused by this senseless war and of the world's bad conscience as a result of its inadequate commitment. This should have happened long ago. The fact remains that the solution to this crisis now involves Brussels, Washington, and Zagreb, on the one hand, and Moscow and Belgrade, on the other. These are now, finally, the proper partners, who may be able to influence the course of the war, and who may achieve the pacification of the area and turn war into peace. However, this is far from being the solution to the crisis in the Balkans.

[Hochner] You have come to Austria to ask for Austrian support for Slovenia's ambition to join the European Union [EU]. From where does Slovenia's desire arise? Is it participation in Europe's economic market or do security issues constitute a decisive factor?

[Kucan] Slovenia's desire to be included in the process of European integration is understandable and is related to the desire of all former East bloc countries. It pertains not only to economic issues but also to political issues and matters of security policy, particularly as a result of the fact that you mentioned at the beginning, namely that the war is still raging only 40 km away from Slovenia. Still, we are interested in getting closer to the EU primarily to achieve democratization of relations within Slovenia, and to achieve the consolidation of democratic institutions, also as far as relations between the civilian state and the defense and military complex are concerned.

[Hochner] The biggest political problem between Slovenia and Austria, or rather the biggest problem in terms of economic policy, is Slovenia's huge trade balance deficit with Austria. In case Austria joins the EU do you expect that this would also improve Slovenia's access to the Austrian market, and do you not fear that, as a EU member, Austria would insulate itself more strongly against Slovenia?

[Kucan] The trade balance deficit is indeed a major problem. The two sides, especially the two governments, are determined to solve this problem because it has reached a political dimension. In December, Prime Minister Drnovsek paid a visit to Vienna and the issue was discussed at great length. Nevertheless, there are differing approaches to solving the problem, there are several possibilities. Should Austria become a EU member on 1 January 1995, the solution would be of a certain kind, and if it does not, then it might also make sense to discuss a free trade agreement.

[Hochner] Looking at the difficulties within the EU in connection with the enlargement by Austria and the three other membership candidates, when do you expect the EU to be ready to enlarge the community by countries in eastern and southeastern Europe, notably Slovenia?

[Kucan] It is a question of interest and of clearer views on what the future of Europe should look like. The more the EU enlarges, the more intense internal relations will become. Any enlargement also means a higher level of integration, which in turn means that antagonistic positions on principles will deteriorate, namely the principle of consensus as the basic principle within the EU, and on the other hand, the principle of efficiency. After all, if a union is not efficient its very existence does not make sense. Still, in a democratic community such antagonisms are not irreconcilable, but it is difficult to solve such problems. I think that at the moment these quandaries are occurring with Austria [words indistinct] London-Vienna—which only proves that enlargement and integration will be very difficult.

[Hochner] Thank you very much for the interview, Mr. President.

Federal

Kontic Concerned Over UN Plan To Send Turks

LD2403202294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1820 GMT 24 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic expressed his concern in Belgrade Thursday over the decision of U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to send Turkish troops within the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] forces.

During his meeting with the new commander of the 32,500 UNPROFOR troops in former Yugoslavia, French General Bernard de Lapresle, Kontic brought up the question of Butrus-Ghali's readiness to deploy troops from neighbouring Turkey, a former occupation force in Yugoslavia.

Kontic also underlined the good cooperation between the Yugoslav Government and UNPROFOR and said that Yugoslavia highly estimated UNPROFOR's role and its contribution to the prevention of further destructions, conflicts and suffering in the former federation, it is a statement of the Federal Information Ministry notes [sentence as received].

Nevertheless Kontic also pointed to the errors made by some parts of UNPROFOR, particularly in the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) which had also been mentioned by U.N. Secretary General Butrus-Ghali in his latest report to the U.N. Security Council.

The RSK was declared a U.N. Protected Area in March 1992 according to the plan of the special U.N. envoy for former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance, following clashes between the local Serbs and the Croatian authorities set off by Croatia's forcible secession from the Yugoslav Federation in mid 1991.

Butrus-Ghali said that in Croatia and the RSK the conflicting sides are accusing UNPROFOR of partiality. He exemplified this by four Croatian incursions into the RSK when the peacekeepers were unable to protect the Serb civilian population.

Kontic emphasized that the Yugoslav Government urges the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate in accordance with the Vance plan until a political settlement is found for the U.N. Protected Areas.

During the talks he also stressed Yugoslavia's firm orientation towards a peaceful and political solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

The meeting between Kontic and De Lapresle was attended by the new UNPROFOR Director for Civil Affairs, Brazilian Diplomat Sergio de Mello.

TANJUG: Bulgarian Press Condemns Troop Plan

LD2403143894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1353 GMT 24 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (TANJUG)—Bulgarian papers on Thursday sharply criticize a U.N. Security Council decision to accept Turkish troops for the U.N. peacekeeping force in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Fire is not put out by petrol, the paper 24 HOURS writes, recalling that the decision is a "dangerous precedent, because a biased party to this two-year war cannot be a peacemaker."

Under the headline "Turks Light Fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina Via the United Nations," the paper calls on great powers to think it over as to what is hiding behind Ankara's longstanding and persistent insistence to enter Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A new Turkish presence in the Balkans is beginning, the paper DUMA writes on Thursday. DUMA insists that the United Nations should be energetically warned that neighbouring countries to the former Yugoslavia should not interfere in Bosnia-Herzegovina's conflict, especially Turkey, with a past heavily weighing down on it as regards the peoples of the former Yugoslavia. This message holds also for Germany, Austria and Italy, the paper writes.

The daily adds that "Turkish troops will establish peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina today. Tomorrow, possibly in our country too."

By sending Turkish troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina the United Nations has shown its true face, the commentator of the paper KONTINENT says. The world organization should safeguard world peace by political means. Military operations have prevailed instead, the Sofia paper sets out.

Turkey has unequivocally taken the side of the Bosnian Moslems in the two-year civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Among the Islamic countries, Turkey has set an example in the sending of financial aid and mojahedin to Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as large quantities of weaponry, in defiance of a U.N-imposed arms embargo on the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia.

FRY Files Complaint Against NATO

AU2303114794 Paris AFP in English 1143 GMT 23 Mar 94

[Text] The Hague, March 23 (AFP)—Yugoslavia filed a complaint against NATO with the International Court of Justice [ICJ], accusing its member states of violating the UN charter by threatening to use force in Bosnia, a source at the court said Wednesday [23 March].

The rump Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro—said NATO had used the threat of force without the required authorization of the UN Security Council.

Yugoslavia's suit cited the decision taken by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization at a Feburary 9 meeting in Brussels that warned Bosnian Serbs to withdraw heavy guns from Sarajevo or face NATO air strikes.

Kontic Chairs Government Session, Reviews Issues

LD2403211894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's Federal Government session, chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the government reviewed a report on current issues concerning the position of members of the nations of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] in other countries, as well as the position of members of the Serb and Montenegrin nations living in the territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which are now outside the territory of Yugoslavia.

The Ministry of Information has announced that on the basis of this report and the ensuing discussion, the Federal Government will adopt special conclusions at one of its future sessions. [passage omitted]

In a report dealing with requests by certain international bodies and organizations to send permanent missions or representatives to Kosovo-Metohija, the government noted a clear tendency to put forward such requests to replace the suspended CSCE mission.

The government concluded that for reasons of principle the FRY cannot accept requests for a CERD [as received] mission and UNESCO representatives to be sent to Yugoslavia and to have a seat in Kosovo-Metohija because Yugoslavia as a state is not allowed to participate in the work of these bodies and organizations as an equal participant.

As proof of good will, the Federal Government concluded that Yugoslavia still expresses full readiness for dialogue and more intensive cooperation on an equal basis with those bodies and organizations—of which Yugoslavia is a signatory, initiator and founder—which is in mutual interest and in the interest of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the world. [passage omitted]

Russian Duma Delegation Visits, Leader Comments

LD2403223694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2115 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Text] Pirot, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—The goal is the destruction of all things Slav and of orthodoxy, and that is a big war against Russia. You are our first line of defense, Aleksandr Vengerovskiy, vice president of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, said at the Pirot municipality headquarters this evening. Vengerovskiy is heading a group of Duma deputies visiting Yugoslavia.

Vengerovskiy said that the Duma deputies arrived in Yugoslavia with the intention of learning about the situation in this country so that the Russian parliament could help with the abolition of sanctions against Yugoslavia.

The Russian Duma deputies, who are in Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Serbian National Renewal [Srpska Narodna Obnova], will visit several places in Serbia and Montenegro.

Russia To Continue Humanitarian Aid

LD2303171894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 23 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Jovan Zebic, vice president of the Federal Government, had talks in the Palace of Federation today with Gennadiy Shikin, ambassador of the Russian Federation in Belgrade.

As the Ministry for Information reports, they talked about providing humanitarian aid to Yugoslavia and preparations for resuming economic cooperation between the two countries following the lifting of sanctions.

Vice President Zebic thanked Ambassador Shikin for Russia's humanitarian efforts and its initiatives for reaching a lasting agreement on a peaceful solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina that would be acceptable to all three warring sides.

Ambassador Shikin stated that, unfortunately, Russia's efforts in providing humanitarian aid to Yugoslavia have so far failed to yield any major result due to the unconstructive and unreasonable conduct of some countries in the UN Security Council's sanctions committee. Ambassador Shikin noted, however, that Russia will continue its efforts to endorse humanitarian aid for Yugoslavia, the Ministry for Information says in its statement.

Serbia

Srpska Military Mobilizes FRY Citizens

AU2503101394 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 94 p 9

[Article by P. Vucinic: "Volunteers by Force"]

[Text] The story was first raised in the Serbian parliament. Milisav Petkovic, a Democratic Party deputy, said that a man who "has been a Serbian citizen for 10 years and was registered with his military authority in Serbia was taken to a school in Derventa where he was forced to sign a statement that he was willing to go to the front."

"This story about volunteers" originates from Mali Zvornik and there is more than one person involved in it. According to witnesses, mostly wives of such "volunteers" who were taken away in the middle of the night, there are at least nine of them. It can be assumed that they are no longer alive. The secret of their correct number is hidden in a bus that took them away and it must also be known by "the official authorities." Judging by what we heard in Mali Zvornik, it seems that the bus was seen during the "guilty" night of 10-11 March 1994 only by occupants of a building on Ribarska Street in Mali Zvornik. The policeman on duty at the police station "did not know what the whole thing was about," and recommended that we talk to the police chief who was not there "at the moment."

They Came

"Two policemen with Serbian police badges came at one in the morning and knocked at the door. They wanted to speak to my husband and when he got up they told him to follow them to the Mali Zvornik police station so that 'they can put down some information.' I went to the terrace and saw that he was taken to a bus parked in front of the building," Ljiljana Andric, the wife of 37-year-old Radovan Andric, told us.

Ljiljana and Radovan Andric have lived in Mali Zvornik, in the Srpska republic, since December 1991. Radovan Andric was employed by the aluminum oxide factory of Zvornik, now controlled by the military and civilian authorities of the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since they got an apartment in Mali Zvornik, Ljiljana and Radomir gave up their residence in Zvornik and were registered in Mali Zvornik. Ljiljana Andric told us that Radomir brought his military documentation to Mali Zvornik in the Srpska republic.

She also told us that her husband remained employed on the other river bank, in another state. She said that he was very assiduous in doing his work and came home only once a week according to a new regulation. That he was a Serbian citizen made it impossible for the authorities of the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to mobilize him—until the night of 10-11 March, 1994.

"Nine of them from Ribarska Street 42 were caught like rabbits," Ljiljana Andric told us. While she was watching the scene from the balcony, she heard the bell ring for a second time. One of the policemen came back and offered her his company since she was "so lonely."

Stevka has a similar story. Her husband Milan Lukic was taken away in the same way. "He did not protest when policemen asked for his papers. They said that everything would be over soon as they had done nothing wrong," Stevka says.

Luka Vidovic was taken away early in the morning. His wife remained alone with their two children—an 11-year-old daughter and a nine-year-old son, who was suffering from leukodistrophy. Borka told the children "Daddy has gone to pick up his salary," but they heard at school that their father had been arrested as a deserter. Borka lives on the ninth floor of a building in which the elevator is broken and she carries the sick children on her back even though she is afraid that her spine might break some day. She told us that the physicians and engineers who live below her were not bothered, although some of them had moved from Bosnia to Serbia after the building on Ribarska Street was completed.

Across the Drina River

"I realized that I cannot complain to anybody," Borka told us. "We went to the police, but we were told that they did not know anything about it." Slavica Mladenovic was given a certificate by the military headquarters in Mali Zvornik stating that her husband was registered in that commune, but she was allegedly told that that was a document of no significance in Zvornik. She was told by the Mali Zvornik police that they "had nothing to do with the case." A policeman was seen at Zvornik military headquarters who participated in this action. He "did not know anything," either.

Authorities from both sides of the Drina River pretended that they had not been informed about the case until the nine men reached a telephone and called Derventa, a village between Milici and Vlasenica, telling their friends that they had been arrested and charged with desertion, adding that they would probably be sent to the front line near Srebrenica. Two of them who did not want to wear uniforms were beaten up. One of them was later released as unfit for duty. Luka Vidovic, who was exempt from military service in his military district because of his two sick children, was retained.

In the meantime, the women visited their husbands who were accommodated in an abandoned school; they are waiting now. The news they receive is contradictory. According to some information, their husbands will come back, but, according to other information, they will be retained since the Republic of Serbia and the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have signed an agreement on the mobilization of former Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens. Borka Vidovic does not know whether or not such an agreement has really been reached, but she has the feeling that "the whole case must be based on this."

Official sources have unofficially confirmed that the story about forceful mobilization in Mali Zvornik (Srpska republic) for the army of a neighboring state is correct.

Montenegro

Lekic on Move To Prevent 'Fundamentalist Bosnia'

LD2303141694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 23 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Podgorica, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—We hope that the Yugoslav crisis is reaching its final stage, the stage of

an antiwar and political outcome, Montenegrin Foreign Affairs Minister Miodrag Lekic told POBJEDA today.

He added that it would be logical to expect—following the agreement on the federal and confederal links between the Muslims and Croats that enables the Croats in Bosnia to have state and institutional links with their mother country—something similar to be offered to the Serbs also so that they can link up with their natural homeland, Serbia. By taking such an approach, the international community, while in a way restoring Yugoslavia—that is, linking parts of that formerly complex country—wants to prevent the creation of an Islamic fundamentalist Bosnia and to secure natural links between identical peoples.

Asked whether Montenegro's Ministry for Foreign Affairs will be disbanded, Lekic categorically said that the ministry was working as usual and that the termination of its work and existence was totally out of the question. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Serbian Army, Police Maneuver Near Prizren

AU2303213694 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr 319 in English 23 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Joint Serbian Military and Police Maneuvers"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] In the vicinity of Prizren for two days now heavy Serbian military forces have been stationed in Vermica village, near Kosova-Albanian border, LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] sources said. For four days now the Serbian soldiers have been conducting joint maneuvers with the Serbian police units at a place called Vreshtaria, north-west of Prizren.

Other units of the Serbian army, equipped with wide ranged cannons have been noticed moving toward Gjakova early today.

Bukoshi Calls For UN Peacekeeping Troops

AU2303135294 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr 318 in English 22 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Prime Minister Bukoshi Urging for International Protection of Kosova"]

[Text] Speaking at a press conference Monday at the UN Headquarters in New York, Kosova Prime Minister Dr. Bujar Bukoshi urged the international community to commit itself for the solution to the Kosova issue. Speaking before journalists at the United Nations, Dr. Bukoshi said: "We call upon the United Nations, the United States, the European Union, and Russia to comprehensively include Kosova in the peace process, because without the solution of Kosova issue there will be no peace in Balkans."

Prime Minister Bukoshi, who is conducting a three-day visit to the United States, the United Nations, and Washington respectfully [as published] once again called high and decision-making officials not to ignore the explosive situation in Kosova and take preventive steps before it gets too late. He also said that: "During this month, army movements have intensified, and the number of Serbian soldiers to Kosova has increased. The situation has deteriorated especially since the Serbian paramilitary kill Albanian civilians in cold blood," said Dr. Bukoshi, and illustrated it with the latest killings in Hani i Ezit and Fusche Kosova.

Dr. Bukoshi warned that the peaceful policy of the Kosova Government could lose credibility among the Albanian population, and said that "this peaceful stand could be used by Belgrade's authorities to intensify their repression. Whereas, peaceful movement of Albanians could be the reason for neglecting the Kosova situation by the international community."

"These alarming trends threaten to stop all the progress toward peace in Kosova," said Bukoshi, and added that while Serbs in Knin and Bosnia are on the verge of achieving their territorial aspirations through violence and aggression, Albanians in Kosova and Macedonia are facing mounting misery only because of their peaceful determination.

"Our main purpose is to prevent war in Kosova, and as far as our political project is concerned, we had declared our will through the referendum. Kosova fulfills all the conditions to be an independent state, similar to other republics of former Yugoslavia. Kosova is a rich region and has a sufficient human potential. We are not asking to unite with Albania and this is the biggest compromise we are offering. We are not asking for the change of borders through the use of force," answered Dr. Bukoshi to the question whether they considered the unification with Albania.

Asked whether he was requestion a deployment of peacekeeping troops to Kosova, similar to those in Macedonia, Prime Minister Bukoshi said: "The best example of preventive measures by the international community is The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]. A civilian-military government under the auspices of the United Nations for a certain interim period until normalization of life would be the best possible solution. Within this framework, demilitarization of Kosova should take place, and removal of all paramilitary forces, establishment of democratic institutions, such as parliament, government and public life."